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AN
ABRIDGMENT
OF
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY,
FROM
THE BIRTH OF CHRIST,
TO THE
Reformation
~~BEGINNING OF THE PRESENT CENTURY.~~

IN WHICH

The Rise, Progress, and Variations of Church
Power are considered

BY THE LATE LEARNED

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Translated from the Original

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COMPILER'S PREFACE.

THE great care, pains, and attention, which the teachers of the Popish Religion take, to keep those of their persuasion in ignorance, and to make them believe, that the Romish Church is the only true Church of Christ, and that out of it, Salvation cannot be attained, and consequently, without ceremony consigning all others to Hell, has prompted the compiler of the following most excellent history, to send it thus abridged, into the world ; conscious of the injustice he is guilty of, in omitting any part of so justly celebrated and learned a work. But as his most ardent desire was, (if possible) to instruct, by placing truth before those who could not otherwise find it, he hopes an indulgent public will pardon the omission of so large a part. Indeed, when it is considered, that those parts which are left out, relate chiefly to controversial points, which in the early times of the church, were the occasion of much tumult, and real injury to the peace-

ful religion of Christ; and that at this day, in this enlightened age, such points of controversy being brought forward, could not be of the smallest service, he hopes the more readily to meet that forgiveness which he seeks, his wish being only to render the work useful, by making it come within the power of all to purchase, as it may be a means (under God,) of opening the eye of their understanding to embrace truths, so clearly set forth.

A VERY small pamphlet which he has seen, and which is given gratis on Sundays to the people attending Popish chapels, with the true design of still preserving them in their ignorance, is another reason for bringing this abridgment forward. The pamphlet is artfully written to mislead the bigotted and ignorant, and is entitled, "*A Roman Catholick's reasons why he may not conform to the Protestant Religion.*" But if the Roman Catholick, or Catholicks, will exercise the understanding which God has given them, by carefully reading this history, they will find, (if not guided by prejudice) how grossly *they are abused*, as herein every deviation from the primitive church is clearly pointed out, and that from authorities not to be controverted. Be their understanding, much or little, an account will be required hereafter, of the use they have made of it.

THE first proposition in the pamphlet alluded to, is, “ Be-
 “ cause the Protestant Religion is a new Religion which had
 “ no being in the world, till 1500 years after Christ; and
 “ therefore it comes 1500 years too late to be the true Church
 “ of Christ. Martin Luther laid the first foundation of the Pro-
 “ testant Religion in the year 1517, and his followers took
 “ the name of Protestants in the year 1529; before which
 “ time neither the name or the religion was ever heard of in
 “ the Christian world. And we defy all the learned men
 “ amongst them to name so much as one single man before
 “ Luther who held throughout their XXXIX Articles, or
 “ any other system of Protestantism as it is now professed in any
 “ country upon earth. Now, how can that be Christ’s church
 “ which for so many ages had no being in the world? Since
 “ all Christians are obliged to acknowledge, that the true
 “ Church of Christ can be no other than that which had its
 “ beginning from Christ, and as he promised, was to stand
 “ for ever.” See St. Matt. ch. 16. v. 18 and St. Matt. 28.
 v. 20.

WHERE so extraordinary an attack as this is made, not
 only on the established religion, but on the understandings of
 the most learned men in the kingdom, who are all of the estab-
 lished religion, indeed I may say, of the learned men of the
 world; it were supineness in the extreme not to undeceive

the ignorant, among whom, the utmost care is taken to disseminate this pamphlet; to them the compiler particularly addresses himself, as they must be unacquainted with these points, and that want of knowledge may lead them into the most dangerous errors, both to *soul* and *body*; therefore they shall have an answer to this particular proposition, and if they are not deaf to all reason, they must not, nor can they longer adhere to a religion, against which the most dreadful denunciations are given in the holy scripture, (a) and which the compiler, in return for the defiance thrown out in the proposition, retorts, by defying the whole hierarchy of the Romish Church to prove by *holy writ*, that which they advance against the Protestant Church.

It shall now be proved, that the Roman Catholick is greatly mistaken in saying, “ the Protestant Religion is a new Religion, which had no being in the world, till 1500 years “ after Christ.” What the Protestant religion is at this day, was the Religion of the Primitive Church. We worship the *one true God*, through the one true and *only Mediator*, our *Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*, who died for the sins of the *world*, and thus became our *Redeemer*; this was the Religion of the Primitive Church, but how have the corruptions of Popery, which they hold in practice even at this day, defaced

(a) Revelations, ch. xiv. 9, 10, 11.

faced the beautiful simplicity thereof. The rise and progress of these errors are clearly shewn in the history. Some of them are particularly predicted by *St. Paul*, in his first *Epist. to Timothy*, chap. iv. “*Now the Spirit speaketh expressly, that “in the latter times, some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing Spirits, and doctrines of Devils.”* Surely, nothing, but the influence of the *Devil*, could prompt any who bear the name of Christian, to promulge, (and that, without the least authority of Scripture) as the teachers of Popery do, that all out of the pale of their Church, are in a state of *eternal damnation*? but the prophetic picture grows still stronger, “*speaking lies in hypocrisy, having their conscience seared with an hot iron*: indeed it must be seared against the light of truth, to teach such an horrid doctrine. “*Forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which “God hath created to be received with thanksgiving of them “which believe and know the truth.”* What Church on the face of the earth, forbids to *marry*, and *commands to abstain from meats*, but the Popish? and herein, it literally fulfils this prophecy. Observe the conclusion, “*For every creature of “God is good, and nothing to be refused, if it be received with “thanksgiving. For it is sanctified by the word of God and “prayer.”* The words of our blessed Lord corroborate this prophecy. *Matt. xv. 11. Not that which goeth into the mouth defileth a man; but that which cometh out of the mouth, this de-*
fileth

flesh a man. For, from the heart proceeds all manner of wickedness, as our *Lord* explains himself in the 19th verse.

THE tenets which are held and taught in the Protestant Church, are clearly shown in the History, to be those of the primitive Church, and the identical doctrines taught by *Luther*, are the same, as taught by *Vigilantius* in the beginning of the fifth century; read the wise and moderate historian *Thuanus*, his account of the *Waldenses* and *Albigenses*, who opposed the Church of Rome in her doctrines and practice, and for so doing, about one million suffered death. John Wickliff in England, also did the same. He demonstrated the anti-christianity of Popery, and the abomination of desolation in the temple of God. He asserted the one true sacrifice of Christ, and opposed the sacrifice of the mass, transubstantiation, the adoration of the Host, the seven Sacraments, Purgatory, prayer for the Dead, the worship of Saints and Images, and in short all the principal corruptions and superstitions of the Church of Rome (b); these with many others, all wrote, long before Luther, and maintained the same doctrines which he taught; the Roman Catholick should therefore have read a little more, before he set forth his defiance. As to the word Protestant, it happened thus; Charles the 5th appointed a diet of the Empire on the 15th March 1529 at
 Spires,

(b) See Bishop Newton on the prophecies, Vol. iii. p. 185.

Spires, to take into consideration the state of religion (c). The Popish party, being the stronger, the electors of Saxony, the Marquis of Brandenburg, the Landgrave of Hesse, the Dukes of Lunenburgh, the Prince of Anhalt, together with the deputies of fourteen imperial or free Cities (d), entered a solemn protest against the decree, as unjust and impious. On that account they were distinguished by the name of Protestants (e), an appellation which hath since become better known, and more honourable, by its being applied indiscriminately to all sects of whatever denomination which have revolted from the Roman see, and the tenets of Popery in general; the tenets they hold, are those of the primitive Church, whose doctrines must stand for ever, as the true Church of Christ.

THE thirty-nine Articles of the Protestant Church, were drawn and agreed to, in a convocation of the most learned men at that time in the Church, in consequence of the corruptions and idolatrous innovations which had crept in, and which were contrary and repugnant to the true word of God, given to us in the holy scriptures; they wisely then,
agreed

(c) See Dr. Robertson's History of Charles the 5th, Vol. ii. p. 351.

(d) Ibid. The fourteen cities were Strasburgh, Nuremburgh, Ulm, Constance, Reutlingen, Windsheim, Meinengen, Lindaw, Kempton, Hailbron, Isna, Weissemburgh, Nordlingen, and St. Gal.

(e) Lleid. Hist. 119, F. Paul, Hist. p. 45. Seckend ii, 127.

agreed to them, and they particularly point out the errors of Popery, and were designed as a guard to the Church in future.

THE second proposition of the Roman Catholick is, "Be-
" cause the Protestant religion cannot be true, except the
" whole scripture, both of the Old and New Testament, from
" the beginning to the end be false, which in many places
" assures us, *that the Church of Christ should never go astray* ;
" for every one knows that the Protestant religion pretends to
" be a reformation of the Church of Christ ; and it is evident
" there could be no room for a reformation of the Church of
" Christ, except the Church was gone astray ; so that the
" whole building of their pretendedly reformed Church is
" founded upon this supposition of the whole Church before
" the time of *Luther*, having been corrupted by damnable
" errors, &c."

IN this second proposition the Roman Catholick has produced a strong argument against himself ; it has been fully proved, that what the Protestant religion is at this day, was the religion of the primitive Church, and which will not go astray, but stand for ever on that rock, which is Christ ; therefore, it is the old religion, founded upon the commandments of God, and its chief corner stone, our Saviour Jesus Christ,

and

and its walls, the doctrine given by him to his holy Apostles, which in that Church is preserved pure. The Popish religion, on the contrary, is *new*, as deviating from the *commandments of God*, the *second of which*, she expressly has banished from her liturgy, why? because it militated against her worship of images, and to keep the exact number ten she has divided the tenth: in this, with all her other innovations, which have been already enumerated, she unwittingly proclaims herself *the new Church*, or the apostate from the old, and which was predicted by Daniel, St. Paul, and St. John. That there would be an apostacy from the true faith is clearly predicted by Daniel vii. 8, 25. St. Paul 1 Tim. chap. 4th, as already shewn. St. John's Revelation 13th to 19th chapters. The primitive christians were so sensible that there would be a falling from the true faith, that in the public offices of the Church, they prayed for the peace and welfare of the Heathen Roman empire (e), knowing, that when it should be broken into pieces, the empire of *the man of sin* would be raised on its ruins as predicted by St. Paul 2 Thes. ii. 3, 4. *The man of sin shall be revealed, the son of perdition, who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped, so that he as God sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God.* But to answer this second proposition fully, he begs leave to introduce the late incomparable Bishop New-

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ton's

(e) See Bishop Newton on prophecies, Vol. II. p. 402.

ton's observations on St. Paul's *man of sin*, which are unanswerable ; they clearly show that the *man of sin* is none other than the Pope, and that, that person was to be at the head of the apostacy which was to effect the christian Church. " By the
 " *temple of God* the Apostle could not well mean the temple
 " at Jerusalem, because, that, he knew very well would be
 " totally destroyed within a few years. It is an observation of
 " the learned Bochart, that (f) after the death of Christ the
 " temple at Jerusalem is never called by the Apostles the
 " temple of God ; and if at any time they make mention of
 " the *house or temple of God*, they mean the Church in general,
 " or every particular believer. It is certain, *the temple or*
 " *house of God* is the christian church in the usual style of the
 " Apostles. St. Paul thus addresseth the Corinthians in his
 " first epistle, (iii. 16, 17.) *Know ye not that ye are the*
 " *temple of God, and that the spirit of God dwelleth in you ? If*
 " *any man defile the temple of God, him shall God destroy : for*
 " *the temple of God is holy, which temple ye are :* and thus again
 " in his second epistle. (vi. 16.) *What agreement hath the*
 " *temple of God with idols ? for ye are the temple of the living*
 " *God*".

" H E

(f) Verùm a Christi obitu templum Hierosolymitanum nunquam ab apostolis templum Dei vocatur ; et si quando de Dei æde vel templo sermonem habeant, tum vel ecclesiam in genere, vel singularem quemque fidelem, iis vocibus intellecta volunt. Bocharti Examen Libelli de Antichristo, Tom. 2, Col. 1047.

" He adviseth Timothy (1 Tim. iii. 15.) *how he ought*
 " *to behave himself in the house of God, as a pillar and ground of*
 " *the truth.* St. John also writeth thus to the angel of the
 " Church in Philadelphia, (Rev. iii. 12.) *Him that overcom-*
 " *eth will I make a pillar in the temple of my God.* These few
 " examples out of many are sufficient to prove, that under the
 " Gospel dispensation *the temple of God* is the Church of Christ:
 " and the man of sin's *sitting* implies his ruling and presiding
 " there, and *sitting there as God* implies his claiming divine
 " authority in things spiritual as well as temporal, and *shewing*
 " *himself that he is God* implies his doing it with great pride
 " and pomp, with great parade and ostentation. These
 " things were not asserted now merely to serve the present oc-
 " casion. The Apostle had insisted upon these topics, while
 " he was at Thessalonica; so that he thought it a part of his
 " duty, as he made it a part of his preaching and doctrine, to
 " forewarn his new converts of the grand apostacy that would
 " infest the Church. The seeds of corruption were sown, but
 " they were not yet grown up to maturity. The *man of sin*,
 " should rise to credit and authority by the most diabolical
 " methods, should pretend to supernatural powers, and boast
 " of revelations, visions, and miracles, false in themselves,
 " and applied to promote false doctrines (Thess. ver. 9.)
 " *Whose coming is after the working of Satan, with all power,*
 " *and signs, and lying wonders.* He should likewise practise

“ all other wicked arts of deceit, should be guilty of the most
 “ impious frauds and impositions upon mankind ; but should
 “ prevail only among those who are destitute of a sincere affec-
 “ tion for the truth, whereby they might obtain eternal sal-
 “ vation, ’ (ver. 10.) *And with all deceiveableness of un-*
 “ *righteousness, in them that perish ; because they received not*
 “ *the love of the truth, that they might be saved.* And indeed
 “ it is a just and righteous judgment of God, to give *them*
 “ over to vanities and lies in this world, and to condemnation
 “ in the next, who have no regard for truth and virtue, but
 “ delight in falsehood and wickedness. (ver. 11. 12.) *And*
 “ *for this cause God shall send them strong delusion, that they*
 “ *should believe a lie : That they all might be damned, who be-*
 “ *lieved not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness.* Pa-
 “ pists affirm, that the *apostacy* is the falling away from the
 “ Church of Rome by the doctrines of the reformation. But
 “ who then is *the man of sin* ? Luther and his followers, or
 “ Calvin and his followers, or who ? for the Protestants are
 “ far from being united under any one head. Which of the Pro-
 “ testant Churches exalts herself above every God and magi-
 “ strate ? Which of them arrogates to herself divine honors
 “ and titles ? Which of them pretends to establish her doc-
 “ trine and discipline by miracles ? These things would be
 “ ridiculously and absurdly objected to the Protestant Churches,
 “ and

“ and more ridiculously and absurdly still by the members of
 “ the Church of Rome.”

“ THE greater part of the Romish Doctors, it must be con-
 “ fessed, give another interpretation, and acknowledge (g)
 “ that the fathers, and the best interpreters understand this
 “ unanimously of Antichrist, who will appear in the world
 “ before the great day of judgment to combat religion and the
 “ saints. But then they conceive that Antichrist is not yet re-
 “ vealed, that he is only one man, and that he will continue
 “ only three years and a half. But it is clear that *the man of*
 “ *sin* is not a single man, any more than the *whore of Babylon*
 “ is a single woman. The one and the other is to be under-
 “ stood of a whole order and succession of persons. The *mystery*
 “ *of iniquity* was working, and preparing the way for *the man*
 “ *of sin* even in the Apostles days: and is it not very extraor-
 “ dinary, that now near 1800 years should elapse, and that
 “ he should not be yet revealed? (ver. 6. &c.) *What with-*
 “ *holdeth*, they say, was the Roman empire; and the Roman
 “ empire might be powerful enough to hinder his appearance
 “ at that time, but how hath it withheld and hindered all this
 “ while?

(g) Les Peres, et les meilleurs interprètes entendent unanimement ceci de l'Ante-Christ, qui doit paroître dans le monde avant le grand jour du jugement, pour combattre la religion & les saints. Calmet Comment & dissertation sur l'Ante-Christ.

“ while? As this evil began in the Apostles days, and was to
“ continue in the world till the second coming of Christ in
“ power and great glory, ; it necessarily follows that it was to
“ be carried on, not by one man, but by a succession of men
“ in several ages. It cannot be taking root and growing im-
“ perceptibly near 1800 years, and yet flourish under its
“ chief head only three years and a half. There needeth not
“ surely so much preparation for so little effect. Neither are
“ three years and a half a period sufficient for Antichrist to act
“ the parts, and to fulfil the characters which are assigned
“ him ; unless he hath also this property of divinity, that *one*
“ *day is with him as a thousand years, and a thousand years*
“ *as one day.*”

“ The detection of falsehood is the next step towards the
“ discovery of truth : and having seen how this passage hath
“ been mistaken and misapplied, we are the better enabled to
“ vindicate and establish what we conceive to be the only true
“ and legitimate application. The Thessalonians, from some
“ expressions in the former Epistle, were alarmed as if the end
“ of the world was at hand, and Christ was coming to judge
“ ment. The Apostle, to correct their mistakes, and dissipate
“ their fears, assures them, that the coming of Christ will not
“ be yet awhile ; there will be first a great apostacy or de-
“ fection of christians from the true faith and worship. This
“ apostacy

" apostacy all the concurrent marks and characters will justify
 " us in charging upon the Church of Rome. The Apostle
 " mentions this apostacy in another place, (1 Tim. iv. 1, &c.)
 " and specifies some articles, *as doctrines of Demons, forbidding*
 " *to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats*, which will
 " warrant the same conclusion. The true christian worship,
 " as mentioned before, is *the worship of the one only God, thro'*
 " *the one only mediator between God and men, the man Christ*
 " *Jesus*: and from this worship the Church of Rome hath no-
 " toriously departed by substituting other mediators, and in-
 " vocating and adoring saints and angels. Nothing is apostacy,
 " if idolatry be not; and the same kind of idolatry is practised
 " in the Church of Rome, that the prophets and inspired
 " writers arraign and condemn as apostacy and rebellion in
 " the Jewish Church. The Jews never totally rejected the
 " true God, but only worshipped him through the medium of
 " some image, or in conjunction with some other beings: and
 " are not the members of the Church of Rome (g) guilty of the
 " same apostacy in the worship of images, in the adoration of
 " the host, in the invocation of angels and saints, and in the
 " oblation of prayers and praises to the Virgin Mary, as much
 " or more than to God, blessed for ever? This is the grand
 " corruption of the christian Church, this is the *apostacy*, as it
 " is

(g) See Stillingfleet's discourses concerning the idolatry of the Church
 of Rome, Chap. 1. and 2. Vol. 5. of his works.

“ is emphatically called, and deserves to be called, the *apostacy* that the Apostle had warned the Thessalonians of before, “ the *apostacy* that had also been foretold by the prophet “ Daniel.”

“ If the apostacy be rightly charged upon the church of “ Rome, it follows of consequence, that *the man of sin* is the “ pope, not meaning this or that pope in particular, but the “ pope in general, as the chief head and supporter of this “ apostacy. The apostacy produces him, and he again promotes the apostacy. He is properly *the man of sin*, not “ only on account of the scandalous lives of many popes, but “ by reason of their more scandalous doctrines and principles, “ dispensing or rather selling pardons and indulgences for the “ most abominable crimes. Or if by *sin* be meant idolatry, “ particularly as as in the Old Testament, it is evident to “ all how he hath corrupted the worship of God, and perverted it from *spirit and truth* to superstition and idolatry of “ the grossest kind. He also, like the false Apostle Judas, “ is *the son of perdition*, whether actively as being the cause “ and occasion of destruction to others, or passively as being “ destined and devoted to destruction himself. *He opposeth*; “ he is the great adversary to God and man, excommunicating “ and anathematizing, persecuting and destroying by cruises “ does and inquisitions, by massacres and horrid executions, “ those

“ those sincere Christians, who prefer the word of God to all
 “ the authority of men. The Heathen Emperor of Rome may
 “ have slain his thousands of innocent Christians, but the
 “ Christian Bishop of Rome hath slain his ten thousands.
 “ There is scarce any country that hath not at one time or
 “ other been made the stage of these bloody tragedies; scarce
 “ any age, that hath not in one place or other seen them
 “ acted. *He exalteth himself above all that is called God or*
 “ *that is worshipped*; not only above inferior magistrates, but
 “ likewise above bishops and primates, exerting an absolute
 “ jurisdiction and uncontrouled supremacy over all; nor only
 “ above bishops and primates, but likewise above kings and
 “ emperors, deposing some, and advancing others, obliging
 “ them to prostrate themselves before him, to kiss his toe, to
 “ hold his stirrup, to (h) wait bare-footed at his gate, tread-
 “ ing (i) even upon the neck, and (k) kicking off the imperial
 “ crown with his foot; nor only above kings and emperors,
 “ but likewise above Christ and God himself, *making the word*
 “ *of God of none effect by his traditions, forbidding* what God
 “ hath commanded, *as marriage*, communion in both kinds,
 “ the use of the scriptures in the vulgar tongue, and the like,
 “ and also commanding or allowing what God hath forbidden,

d

“ as

(h) As Hildebrand or Gregory VII. did to Henry IV. of Germany.

(i) As Alexander III. did to Frederic I.

(k) As Celestin did to Henry VI.

“ as idolatry, persecution, works of supererogation, and various
 “ other instances. *So that he as God sitteth in the temple of God,*
 “ *shewing himself that he is God.* He is therefore in profession
 “ a Christian, and a Christian Bishop. His *sitting in the tem-*
 “ *ple of God* plainly implies his having his seat or cathedra in
 “ the Christian Church ; and he sitteth there *as God*, especially
 “ at his inauguration, when he sitteth upon the high altar in
 “ St. Peter’s church, and maketh the table of the Lord his
 “ foot-stool, and in that position receiveth adoration. At all
 “ times he exerciseth divine authority in the church, *shewing*
 “ *himself that he is God*, affecting divine titles and attributes
 “ as holiness and infallibility, assuming divine powers and
 “ prerogatives in condemning and absolving men, in retaining
 “ and forgiving sins, in asserting his decrees to be of the same
 “ or greater authority than the word of God, and command-
 “ ing them to be received under the penalty of the same or
 “ greater damnation.”

“ THE foundations of popery were laid indeed in the Apost-
 “ le’s days, but the superstructure was raised by degrees,
 “ and several ages passed before the building was compleated,
 “ and *the man of sin* was revealed in full perfection. His *com-*
 “ *ing is after the energy of Satan, with all power, and signs,*
 “ *and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighte-*
 “ *ousness* : and doth it require any particular proof, or is it

“ not

(1)
fixe, li

“ not too generally known, that the pretensions of the Pope,
 “ and the corruptions of the Church of Rome are all support-
 “ ed and authorized by feigned visions and miracles, by pious
 “ frauds and impostures of every kind ? Bellarmin reckons
 “ (1) the glory of miracles as the eleventh note of the Catholic
 “ Church ; but the Apostle assigns them as a distinguishing
 “ mark and character of *the man of sin*. The Church of Rome
 “ pretends to miracles, Mohammed disclaims them ; and this
 “ is one very good reason, why *the man of sin* is the Pope ra-
 “ ther than the Turk. *The man of sin* then is the same arbi-
 “ trary and wicked power that is described by Daniel under
 “ the characters of *the little horn* and *the mighty king*. In St.
 “ Paul he is *revealed*, when the Roman empire is *taken out of*
 “ *the way* ; and in Daniel the Roman empire is first broken
 “ into several kingdoms, and he *cometh up among them*. In
 “ St. Paul he *opposeth* ; and in Daniel *he doeth according to his*
 “ *will, and wearieth out the saints of the Most High*. In St.
 “ Paul he *exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that*
 “ *is worshipped, shewing himself that he is God* : and in Daniel,
 “ he *exalteth himself and magnifieth himself above every God,*
 “ *and speaketh marvellous things against the God of Gods*. In
 “ St. Paul he is *the lawless one* ; and in Daniel *he changeth*
 “ *times and laws*. In St. Paul *his coming is with all deceiva-*

d 2
“ *blēss*

(1) Undecima notæ est gloria miraculorum. Bellar. de Notis eccle-
 siæ, lib. 4. cap. 14.

*“ blenefs of unrighteousnefs ; and in Daniel, he practifeth and
“ prospereth, and through his policy caufeth craft to prosper in his
“ hand. According to St. Paul, the Lord fhall confume him
“ with the fpirit of his mouth, and fhall deftroy him with the
“ brightnefs of his coming ; and according to Daniel, a fiery
“ fream fhall iffue and come forth from the judge, and his body
“ fhall be given to the burning flame, and they fhall take away
“ his dominion, to confume and to deftroy it unto the end. The
“ characters and circumftances are fo much the fame, that
“ they muft belong to one and the fame perfon. But how
“ much foever the man of fin may be exalted, and how long
“ foever he may reign, yet at laft the Lord fhall confume him
“ with the fpirit of his mouth, and fhall deftroy him with the
“ brightnefs of his coming. His kingdom fhall alfo be deftroy-
“ ed for evermore. The coincidence of Daniel’s prophecy,
“ and St. John in the 18th chap. of Rev. is wonderful, as to
“ this point. Such a prophecy as this is at once an illuftrious
“ proof of divine revelation, and an excellent antidote to the
“ poifon of popery. It is like a two-edged fword, that will
“ cut both ways, and wound the Deift with one fide, and the
“ Papift with the other. The Papifts are in fome refpect like
“ the Jews. As the Jews believe not that Chrift is come ac-
“ cording to the prophecies, but ftill live in expectation of
“ him ; fo neither do the Papifts perceive that Antichrift is
“ come*

“ come according to the prophecies, but still maintain that he
“ will arise hereafter. The Apostle not only foretells this
“ blindness and infatuation, but likewise assigns the reason,
“ *because they received not the love of truth, but had pleasure in*
“ *unrighteousness.* But to the Protestants, who believe and pro-
“ fess that both the Christ and Antichrist are come, we may
“ say with the Apostle, (ver. 13, 14.) *We are bound to give*
“ *thanks always to God for you, brethren beloved of the Lord,*
“ *because God hath chosen you to salvation, through sanctification*
“ *of the spirit, and belief of the truth. Whereunto he called you*
“ *by the gospel, to the obtaining of the glory of our Lord Jesus*
“ *Christ.* The Apostle proceeds, (ver. 15.) *Therefore, bre-*
“ *thren, stand fast, and hold the traditions which ye have been*
“ *taught, whether by word, or our epistle:* and certainly there
“ is not any oral tradition that hath a juster claim to be
“ thought apostolical, than this of *the man of sin's* succeeding
“ upon the decline of the Roman empire, and exalting himself
“ over all. Wherefore to conclude, as the Apostle concludes
“ the subject, (ver. 16, 17.) *Now our Lord Jesus Christ him-*
“ *self, and God even our Father, who hath loved us, and hath*
“ *given us everlasting consolation, and good hope, through*
“ *grace, comfort your hearts, and stablish you in every good*
“ *word and work.*”

THE Compiler, with the most humble diffidence of his ability in so arduous an undertaking, throws himself on a generous and indulgent public, to accept this work, as he means it, viz. to do good, and to inform those of a limited understanding, whose reading is not extensive.

A N

AN
A B R I D G M E N T
OF
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY,
FROM
THE BIRTH OF CHRIST,
TO THE
BEGINNING OF THE PRESENT CENTURY.

C H A P. I.

*Concerning the Civil and Religious State of the World at the
Birth of Christ.*

A GREAT part of the world was become subject to the Roman Empire, when Jesus Christ made his appearance upon the earth. The remoter nations, which had submitted to the yoke of this mighty empire, were ruled, either by Roman governors
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invested with temporary commissions, or by their own princes and laws, in subordination to the republic, whose sovereignty was to be acknowledged, and from which the conquered kings, that were continued in their dominions, derived their borrowed majesty. At the same time the Roman people and their venerable Senate, though they had not lost all shadow of liberty, were yet, in reality, reduced to a state of servile submission to Augustus Cæsar, who, by artifice, perfidy, and blood-shed, had arose to an enormous degree of power, and united in his own person the pompous titles of Emperor, Sovereign, Pontiff, Censor, Tribune of the people, Proconsul, in a word, all the great offices of state. (a)

It must, at the same time, be acknowledged, that this supreme dominion of one people, or rather, of one man over so many kingdoms, was attended with many considerable advantages to mankind in general, and to the propagation and advancement of christianity in particular. For by the means of this almost universal empire, many nations, different in their language, and in their manners, were united more intimately together in social intercourse. Hence a passage was opened to the remotest countries by the communications which the Romans formed between the conquered provinces. (b) Hence
also

(a) See for this purpose the learned works of Augustin Campianus, entitled *De officio et potestate Magistratum Romanorum et jurisdictione*, lib. i. chap. i. p. 3, 4, &c. Geneva, 1725, in Quarto.

(b) See for a further illustration of this matter, *Histoire des grands événements de l'Empire Romain*, par Nicol. Bergier, printed in the year 1728. See also the very learned Everard Otto, *De tutela viarum Publicarum*, part ii. p. 314.

also the nations, whose manners were savage and barbarous, were civilized by the laws and commerce of the Romans. And by this, in short, the benign influence of letters and philosophy was spread abroad in countries, which had lain, before, under the darkeſt ignorance. And all this contributed, no doubt, in a ſingular manner, to facilitate the progreſs of the Goſpel, and to crown the labours of its firſt Miniſters and Heraldſ with ſucceſs. (c)

THE Roman empire at the birth of Chriſt, was leſs agitated by wars and tumults, than it had been for many years before. For, though I cannot aſſent to the opinion of thoſe, who, following the account of Oroſius, maintain, that the temple of Janus was then ſhut, and that wars and diſcords abſolutely ceaſed throughout the world ; (d) yet it is certain, that the period in which our Saviour deſcended upon earth, may be juſtly ſtyled the *Pacific Age*, if we compare it with the preſent times. And indeed, the tranquillity that then reigned, was neceſſary to enable the Miniſters of Chriſt to execute, with ſucceſs, their ſublime commiſſion to the human race.

THE want of ancient records renders it impoſſible to ſay any thing ſatisfactory or certain concerning the ſtate of thoſe nations, who did not receive the Roman yoke : nor indeed is their hiſtory eſſential to our preſent purpoſe. It is ſufficient to obſerve, with reſpect to them, that thoſe who inhabited the

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(c) Origen, among others, makes particular mention of this in the ſecond book of his anſwer to Celfus, p. 79, of the Cambridge edition.

(d) See Jo. Maſſoni *Templum Jani, Chriſto naſcente reſeratum*, Rotæ-rodami, 1706.

Eastern regions were strangers to the sweets of liberty, and groaned under the burthen of an oppressive yoke. This, their softness and effeminacy, both in point of manners and bodily constitution, contributed to make them support with an unmanly patience; and even the religion they professed, riveted their chains. On the contrary, the Northern nations enjoyed, in their frozen dwellings, the blessings of sacred freedom, which their government, their religion, a robust and vigorous frame of body and spirit, derived from the inclemency and severity of their climate, all united to preserve and maintain. (e)

ALL those nations lived in the practice of the most abominable superstitions. For though the notion of one supreme being was not entirely effaced in the human mind, but shewed itself frequently, even through the darkness of the grossest idolatry, yet, all nations, except that of the Jews, acknowledged a number of governing powers whom they called Gods, and one or more of which they supposed to preside over each particular province or people. One thing, indeed, which at first appears very remarkable, is, that this variety of religions and of gods neither produced wars nor dissensions among the different nations, the Egyptians excepted. (f)

IN

(e) *Tere imperia, (says Seneca) penes eos fuere populos, qui mitiore caelo utuntur; in frigora, Septentrionemque vergentibus immanis ingenia sunt, ut ait poeta, Sueque Simillima caelo. Seneca De ira, lib. ii. cap. xvi. tom. 1. Opp. Edit. Gronovii.*

(f) There are ingenious things to be found upon this head in the *Expositio Mensæ Ifacæ* of Pygnozius, p. 41.

IN the provinces subjected to the Roman government, there arose a new kind of religion formed by a mixture of the antient rites of the conquered nations with those of the Romans. These nations, who, before their subjugation, had their own gods and their own particular religious institutions, were persuaded, by degrees, to admit into their worship a great number of the sacred rites and customs of their conquerors. The view of the Romans, in this change, was not only to confirm their authority by the powerful aid of religion, but also to abolish the inhuman rites which were performed by many of the barbarous nations who had received their yoke; and this change was effected partly by the prudence of the victors, partly by the levity of the vanquished, and by their ambition to please their new masters.

NONE of these nations, indeed, ever arrived to such an excess of universal barbarity and ignorance, as not to have some discerning men among them, who were sensible of the extravagance of all these religions. But of these sagacious observers, some were destitute of the weight and authority that were necessary to remedy these over-grown evils; and others wanted the will to exert themselves in such a glorious cause. And the truth is, none of them had wisdom equal to such a solemn and arduous enterprize. This appears manifestly from the laborious, but useless efforts of some of the Greek and Roman philosophers against the vulgar superstitions. These venerable sages delivered in their writings, many sublime things concerning the nature of God, and the duties incumbent upon men; they disputed with sagacity against the popular religion;

on; but to all this they added such chimerical notions, and such absurd subtilties of their own, as may serve to convince us, that it belongs to God alone, and not to man to reveal the truth without any mixture of impurity or error.

THE attentive reader will easily observe the tendency of the short view that we have here given of the miserable state of the world at the birth of Christ, and will draw from it the conclusions to which it so naturally leads, viz. That mankind, in that period of darkness and corruption, stood highly in need of some divine teacher to convey to the mind *true and certain principles* of religion and wisdom, and to recal wandering mortals to the sublime paths of piety and virtue. The consideration of this wretched condition of mankind, will be also singularly useful to those who are not sufficiently acquainted with the advantages, the comforts and the support, which the sublime doctrines of christianity are so proper to administer in every state, relation and circumstance of life. A set of miserable and unthinking creatures treat with negligence, nay, sometimes with contempt, the religion of Jesus, not considering that they are indebted to it for all the good things which they so ungratefully enjoy.

C H A P. II.

*Concerning the Civil and Religious State of the Jewish Nation
at the Birth of Christ.*

THE state of the Jews was not better than that of the other nations at the time of Christ's appearance in the world. They were governed by Herod, who was himself a tributary to the Roman people. This prince was surnamed the Great (surely from no other circumstance than the greatness of his vices,) and his government was a yoke of the most vexatious and oppressive kind. By a cruel, suspicious, and over-bearing temper, he drew upon himself the aversion of all, not excepting those who lived upon his bounty. By a mad luxury, and an affectation of magnificence far above his fortune, together with the most profuse and immoderate largesses, he exhausted the treasures of that miserable nation. Under his administration, and by his means, the Roman luxury was received into *Palastine*, accompanied with the worst vices of that licentious people (g). In a word, *Judea*, governed by Herod, groaned under all that corruption, which might be expected from the authority and the example of a prince who, though a Jew in outward

(g) See on this subject, Christ. Noldii *Historia Idumæa*, which is annexed to Havercamp's edition of *Josephus*, Vol. ii. p. 333. See also Basnage, *Histoire des Juifs*, tom. i. part 1. 27. Norris. *Cenotaph. Pisan.* Prideaux, *History of the Jews*; Cellarius, his *Historia Herodum*, in the first of his academical dissertations, p. 207; and above all, *Josephus* the Jewish Historian.

outward profession, was in point of morals and practice, a contemner of all laws human and divine. However severe the authority was, which the Romans exercised over the Jews, yet it did not extend to the entire suppression of all their civil and religious privileges. The Jews were, in some measure, governed by their own laws, and they were permitted the enjoyment of the religion they had received, from the glorious founder of their Church and State. The administration of religious ceremonies was committed, as before, to the high-priest, and to the Sanhedrim; to the former of whom the orders of Priests and Levites were in the usual subordination; and the form of outward worship, except in a very few points, had suffered no visible change. But on the other hand, it is impossible to express the inquietude and disgust, the calamities and vexations, which this unhappy nation suffered from the presence of the Romans, whom their religion obliged them to look upon as a polluted and idolatrous people, and, in a more particular manner, from the avarice and cruelty of the Prætors, and the frauds and extortions of the Publicans. So that, all things considered, their condition, who lived under the government of the other sons of Herod, was much more supportable than the state of those, who were immediately subject to the Roman jurisdiction. It was not, however, from the Romans alone, that the calamities of this miserable people proceeded. Their own rulers multiplied their vexations, and hindered them from enjoying any little comforts that were left to them by the Roman magistrates. The leaders of the people, and the Chief Priests, were, according to the account of Josephus, profligate wretches, who had purchased their places by bribes,

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bribes, or by acts of iniquity, and who maintained their ill-acquired authority by the most flagitious and abominable crimes. The subordinate and inferior members were infected with the corruption of the head; the priests, and those, who possessed any shadow of authority, were become dissolute and abandoned to the highest degree; while the multitude, set on by these corrupt examples, ran head-long into every sort of iniquity, and by their endless and seditions, robberies, and extortions, armed against them both the justice of God and the vengeance of men.

Two religions flourished at this time in *Palestine*, viz. the Jewish and the Samaritan, whose respective followers beheld those of the opposite sect with the utmost aversion. The Jewish religion stands exposed to our view in the books of the Old Testament; but at the time of Christ's appearance, it had lost much of its original nature, and of its primitive aspect. Errors of a very pernicious kind had infected the whole body of the people, and the more learned part of the nation were divided upon points of the highest consequence. All looked for a deliverer, but not for such a one as God had promised. Instead of a meek and spiritual Saviour, they expected a formidable and warlike prince, to break off their chains and set them at liberty from the Roman yoke. All regarded the whole of religion, as consisting in the rites appointed by Moses, and in the performance of some external acts of duty towards the Gentiles. They were all horribly unanimous in excluding from the hopes of eternal life all the other nations of the world; and, as a consequence of this

odious system, they treated them with the utmost rigour and inhumanity when any occasion was offered them. And besides these corrupt and vicious principles, there prevailed among them several absurd and superstitious notions concerning the divine nature, invisible powers, magic, &c. which they had partly brought with them from the Babylonian captivity, and partly derived from the Egyptians, Syrians, and Arabians, who lived in their neighbourhood.

RELIGION had not a better fate among the learned, than among the multitude. The supercilious Doctors, who vaunted their profound knowledge of the law, and their deep science in spiritual and divine things, were constantly shewing their fallibility and their ignorance by their religious differences, and were divided into a great variety of sects. None of these sects, indeed, seemed to have the interests of zeal and true piety at heart; nor were their principles and discipline at all adapted to the advancement of pure and substantial virtue. The Pharisees courted popular applause by a vain ostentation of pretended sanctity, and an austere method of living, while, in reality they were strangers to true holiness, and were inwardly defiled with the most criminal dispositions, with which our Saviour frequently reproaches them. They also treated with more veneration the commandments and tradition of men, than the sacred precepts and laws of God (h). The Sadducees, by denying a future state of rewards and punishments, removed at once, the most powerful incentives to virtue, and the most effectual restraints upon vice, and thus

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(h) Matt. xxiii. 13, 14, &c.

gave new vigour to every sinful passion, and a full encouragement to the indulgence of every irregular desire. While then such darkness, such errors and dissensions prevailed among those, who assumed the character and authority of persons distinguished by their superior sanctity and wisdom, it will not be difficult to imagine how totally corrupt the religion and morals of the multitude must have been. They were, accordingly, sunk in the most deplorable ignorance of God, and of divine things; and had no notion of any other way of rendering themselves acceptable to the supreme being than by sacrifices, washing, and the other external rites and ceremonies of the Mosaic law. Hence proceeded that dissolution of manners, and that profligate wickedness, which prevailed among the Jews, during Christ's ministry upon earth. And hence the divine Saviour compares that people to a flock of sheep, which wandered without a shepherd; and their Doctors to men, who, though deprived themselves of sight, yet pretended to shew the way to others (i).

(i) Matt. x. 6. xv. 24, 25. John ix. 39.

C H A P. III.

Concerning the Life and Actions of JESUS CHRIST.

THE errors and disorders, that we have been contemplating, required something far above human wisdom and power to dispel and remove them, and to deliver mankind from the miserable state to which they were reduced by them. Therefore, towards the conclusion of the reign of Herod the Great, the son of God descended upon earth, and, taking upon him the human nature, appeared to men under the sublime character of an infallible teacher, and all sufficient mediator, and a spiritual and immortal King. The place of his birth was *Bethlehem*, in the land of *Palestine*. The year, in which it happened, has not hitherto been fixed with certainty, notwithstanding the deep and laborious researches of the learned on that matter. There is nothing surprizing in this, when we consider that the first christians laboured under the same difficulties, and were divided in their opinions, concerning the time of Christ's birth (*). That which appears most probable is, that it happened about a year and six months before the death of Herod, in the year of Rome 748, or 749 (1). The uncertainty, however, of this point is of no sort

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(*) The learned John Albert Fabricius has collected all the opinions of the learned, concerning the year of Christ's birth in his *Bibliograph. Antiquar.* cap. vii. § ix. p. 187.

(1) Matt. iii. 2, &c. John i. 22, &c.

of consequence. We know that the Sun of righteousness has shone upon the world. And though we cannot fix the precise time or period in which he arose, this will not hinder us from enjoying the direction and influence of his vital and salutary beams.

FOUR inspired writers, who have transmitted to us an account of the life and actions of Jesus Christ, mention particularly his birth, his lineage, his family, and his parents; but they say very little concerning his infancy and his earlier youth. Not long after his birth, he was conducted by his parents into Egypt, that he might be there out of the reach of Herod's cruelty (m). When he was but twelve years old he disputed, in the temple, with the most learned of the Jewish Doctors, concerning the sublime truths of religion. And the rest of his life, until the thirtieth year of his age, was spent in the obscurity of a private condition, and consecrated to the duties of filial obedience (n). This is all that the wisdom of God hath permitted us to know, with certainty, of Christ, before he entered upon his publick ministry, nor is the story of his having followed the trade of his adopted father Joseph built upon any sure foundation. There have been, indeed, several writers who either through the levity of a wanton imagination, or with a design to attract the admiration of the multitude, have invented a series of the most extravagant and ridiculous fables, in order to give an account of this obscure part of the Saviour's life (o).

JESUS

(m) Matt. ii. 13. (n) Luke ii. 51, 52.

(o) See the account which the above mentioned Albert Fabricius has given of these romantic triflers in his *Codex Apocryphus*, N. T. tom. i.

JESUS began his publick ministry in the thirtieth year of his age, and to render it more solemn and affecting to the Jews, a man whose name was John, the son of a Jewish Priest, a person of great gravity also, and much respected on account of the austere dignity of his life and manners, was commanded by God to proclaim to the people the coming of the Messiah, that had been promised to their fathers. This extraordinary man called himself the fore-runner of the Messiah. Filled with a holy zeal and a divine fervour, he cried aloud to the Jewish nation to depart from their transgressions, and to purify their hearts, that they might thus partake of the blessings which the Son of God was now come to offer to the world. The exhortations of this respectable messenger were not without effect, and those, who moved by his solemn admonitions, had formed the resolution of correcting their evil dispositions and amending their lives, were initiated into the kingdom of the redeemer by the ceremony of immersion, or baptism (p). Christ himself, desired to be solemnly baptized by John in the waters of *Jordau*, that he might not in any point neglect to answer the demands of the Jewish law.

It is not necessary to enter here into a particular detail of the life and actions of Jesus Christ. All christians must be perfectly well acquainted with them. They must know, that during the space of three years, and amidst the deepest trials of affliction and distress, he instructed the Jewish nation in the will and counsels of the most high, omitted nothing, in the course of his ministry, that could contribute
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(p) Matt. iii. 6. John i. 22.

either to gain the multitude, or to charm the wise. Every one knows that his life was a continued scene of the most perfect sanctity and the purest and most active virtue, not only without spot, but also beyond the reach of suspicion. And it is also well known by that miracles of the most stupendous kind, and not more stupendous than salutary and beneficent, he displayed to the universe the truth of that religion, which he brought with him from above, and demonstrated the reality of his divine commission in the most illustrious manner.

As this divine religion was to be propagated to the utmost ends of the earth, it was necessary that Christ should chuse a certain number of persons, to accompany him constantly through the whole course of his ministry; that thus they might be faithful and respectable witnesses of the sanctity of his life, and the grandeur of his miracles, to the remotest nations; and also transmit to the latest posterity a genuine account of his sublime doctrines, and of the nature and end of the gospel dispensation. Therefore Jesus chose twelve persons, by the name of *Apostles*. These men were illiterate, poor, and of mean extraction, and such alone were truly proper to answer the views of the divine Saviour. He avoided making use of the ministry of persons endowed with the advantages of fortune and birth, and eloquence, lest the fruits of this embassy and the progress of the gospel, should be attributed to human and natural causes (q). These Apostles were sent but once to preach to the Jews during the life of Christ (r). He chose to keep them about his own person,
that

(q) 1 Cor. i. 21. (r) Matt. x. 7.

that they might be thoroughly instructed in the affairs of his kingdom. That the multitude, however, might not be destitute of teachers to enlighten them with the knowledge of the truth, Christ appointed LXX disciples to preach the glad tidings of life eternal throughout the whole province of *Judea* (s).

THE researches of the learned have been employed to find the reason of Christ's fixing the number of the Apostles to *twelve*, and that of the disciples to *seventy*; and various conjectures have been applied to the solution of this question. But since it is manifest from the words of our Saviour himself (t) that he intended the number of the XII Apostles as an allusion to that of the tribes of Israel; it can scarcely be doubted, that as he was the supreme Lord and High-priest of these twelve tribes, and as the number of disciples answers evidently to that of the Senators, or Sanhedrim, there is a high degree of probability, that Christ, by the choice of seventy, designed to admonish the Jews, that the authority of their Sanhedrim was now at an end, and that all power, with respect to religious matters, was vested in him alone.

THE ministry of the divine Saviour was confined to the Jews, nor, while he remained upon earth, did he permit his Apostles or Disciples to extend their labours beyond this distinguished nation (u). A great number of the Jews, struck with the illustrious marks of a divine authority and power, that

(s) Luke x. 1. (t) Matt. xix, 28. Luke xxii. 30.

(u) Matt. x. 5, 6, xv. 24.

that shone forth in the ministry and actions of Christ, regarded him as the Son of God, the true Messiah. The rulers of the people, and more especially the Chief Priests and Pharisees, whose licentiousness and hypocrisy he censured with a noble and generous freedom, laboured with success, by the help of their passions, to extinguish in their breasts the conviction of his celestial mission. Fearing also, lest the ministry of Christ should tend to diminish their credit, and to deprive them of the advantages they derived from the impious abuse of their authority in religious matters; they laid snares for his life, which for a considerable time, were without effect. They succeeded at length by the infernal treason of an apostate disciple, by the treachery of Judas, who discovering the retreat which his divine Master had chosen for the purposes of meditation and repose, delivered him into the mercilefs hands of a brutal soldiery.

IN consequence of this, Jesus was first brought before the Jewish High-priest and Sanhedrin, before whom he was accused of having violated the law, and blasphemed the majesty of God. Dragged from thence to the tribunal of Pilate the Roman prator, he was there charged with seditious enterprizes and with treason against Cæsar. Both these accusations were so evidently false, and destitute even of every appearance of truth, that they must have been rejected by any judge, who acted upon principles of common equity. But the clamours of an enraged populace, set on by the impious instigations of their priests and rulers, intimidated Pilate, and engaged him, though with the utmost reluctance, to pronounce

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a capital sentence against Christ. The divine Saviour behaved with inexpressible dignity under this heavy trial. As the end of his mission was to make expiation for the sins of men, so when all things were ready, and when he had finished the work of his glorious ministry, he placidly submitted to the death of the cross, and with a serene and voluntary resignation committed his spirit into the hands of the Father.

AFTER Jesus had remained three days in the Sepulchre, he resumed that life which he had voluntarily laid down, and, rising from the dead, declared to the universe by that triumphant act, that the divine justice was satisfied, and the paths of salvation and immortality rendered accessible to the human race. He conversed with his apostles during forty days after his resurrection, and employed that time in instructing them more fully concerning the nature of his kingdom. Many wise and important reasons prevented his shewing himself publicly at *Jerusalem*, to confound the malignity and unbelief of his enemies. He contented himself with manifesting the certainty of his glorious resurrection to a sufficient number of faithful and credible witnesses, foreseeing, perhaps, that if he appeared in public, those malicious unbelievers, who had formerly attributed his miracles to the power of magic, would now represent his resurrection as a phantom, or vision, produced by the influence of infernal powers. After having remained upon earth during the space of time above-mentioned, and given to his disciples a divine commission to preach the glad tidings of salvation and immortality to the human race, he ascended into heaven, in their presence, and resumed the enjoyment of that

that glory, which he was possessed of before the worlds were created.

C H A P. IV.

Concerning the Prosperous Events that happened to the Church during this first Century.

JESUS being ascended into heaven, soon shewed his afflicted disciples, that though invisible to mortal eyes, he was still their omnipotent protector and their benevolent guide. About fifty days after his departure from them, he gave them the first proof of that majesty and power to which he was exalted, by the effusion of the Holy Ghost upon them according to his promise. (w) The consequence of this grand event was surprising and glorious, infinitely honourable to the christian religion and the divine mission of its triumphant author. For no sooner had the Apostles received this precious gift, this celestial guide, than their ignorance was turned into light, their doubts into certainty, their fears into a firm and invincible fortitude, and their former backwardness into an ardent and inextinguishable zeal, which led them to undertake their sacred office with the utmost intrepidity and alacrity of mind. This marvellous event was attended with a variety of gifts, particularly the gift of tongues, so indispensably necessary to qualify the Apostles to preach the gospel to the different na-

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tions.

• (w) Acts ii. 1, &c.

tions. These holy Apostles were also filled with a perfect persuasion founded on Christ's express promise, that the divine presence would perpetually accompany them and shew itself by miraculous interpositions, as often as the success of their ministry should render this necessary.

RELYING upon these celestial succours, the Apostles began their glorious ministry, by preaching the gospel according to Christ's positive command; first to the Jews, and by endeavouring to bring that deluded people to the knowledge of the truth. (x) Nor were their labours unsuccessful, since, in a very short time many thousands were converted to the christian faith. (y) And after they had exercised their ministry, during several years at *Jerusalem*, and brought to a sufficient degree of consistence and maturity the christian churches which were founded in *Palestine* and the adjacent countries; they extended their views further, carried the divine lamp of the gospel to all nations of the world, and saw their labours crowned almost every where with the most abundant fruits, as the *Acts of the Apostles*, and the *Epistles of St. Paul* clearly testify. The first christian church, founded by the Apostles, was that of *Jerusalem*, which was the model of all those that were afterwards erected during this first century. This church was, however, governed by the Apostles themselves, to whom both the *Elders* and those who were entrusted with the care of the poor, even the *Deacons* were subject. The people, though they had not abandoned the Jewish worship, held, however separate assemblies, in which they

(x) Luke xxiv. 47. Acts i. 8. xiii. 46. (y) Acts ii. 41. iv. 4.

they were instructed by the Apostle and Elders, prayed together, celebrated the holy supper in remembrance of Christ, of his death and sufferings, and the salvation offered to mankind through him, and, at the conclusion of these meetings, they testified their mutual love, partly by their liberality to the poor, and partly by sober and friendly repasts (z), which from thence were called *feasts of charity*. The rich supplied the wants of their indigent brethren with such liberality and readiness, that, as St. Luke tells us, among the primitive disciples of Christ, all things were in common. (a) This expression has, however, been greatly abused, and has been made to signify a *community of rights, goods or possessions*, than which interpretation nothing is more groundless, nothing more false; for, from a multitude of reasons, as well as from the express words of St. Peter (b), it is abundantly manifest that the community, which is implied in mutual *use* and mutual liberality, is the only thing intended in this passage. (c)

THE Apostles having finished their work at *Jerusalem*, went from thence to employ their labours in other nations, travelled with this view over a great part of the known world, and in a short time planted a vast number of churches among the Gentiles. Several of these are mentioned in the sacred writings, particularly in the *Acts of the Apostles*. (d) The stories

(z) Acts ii. 42.

(a) Acts ii. 44. iv. 32.

(b) Acts v. 4.

(c) This is proved with the utmost evidence by Dr. Mosheim in his incomparable work, entitled, *Dissertationes ad Historiam Ecclesiasticam pertinentes*, vol. ii.

(d) The names of the churches, planted by the Apostles in different nations,

stories that are told concerning their arrival and exploits among the Gauls, the English, the Spaniards, the Germans, the Americans, the Chinese, the Indians, and the Russians, are too romantic in their nature, and of too recent a date, to be received by an impartial enquirer after truth. The greatest part of these fables were forged after the time of Charlemagne, when most of the Christian churches contended about the antiquity of their origin, with as much vehemence as the Arcadians, Egyptians, and Greeks, disputed formerly about their seniority and precedence, thereby deviating from the command of our Saviour; "A new commandment I give unto you, That ye love one another."

WHEN we consider the rapid progress of Christianity among the Gentile nations, and the poor and feeble instruments by which this great and amazing event was immediately effected, we must naturally have recourse to an omnipotent and invisible hand, as its true and proper cause. For unless we suppose here a divine interposition, how was it possible, that men destitute of all human aid, without credit or riches, learning or eloquence, could, in so short a time, persuade a considerable part of mankind to abandon the religion of their ancestors? How was it possible that so small an number of Apostles, who, as fishermen and publicans, must have been contemned by their own nation, and as Jews, must have been odious to all others, could engage the learned and the mighty, as well as the simple

nations, are specified in a work of Phil. James Hartman, *de rebus gestis Christianorum sub apostolis*, cap. vii. p. 107. and also in that of F. Albert Fabricius, entitled, *Lux Evangelii toti orbi exorians*, cap. v. p. 83, &c.

simple and those of low degree, to forsake their favourite prejudices, and to embrace a new religion which was an enemy to their corrupt passions? and indeed there were undoubted marks of a celestial power perpetually attending their ministry. There was in their very language an incredible energy, an amazing power of sending light into the understanding, and conviction into the heart. To this were added, the commanding influence of stupendous miracles, the foretelling of future events, the power of discerning the secret thoughts and intentions of the heart, a magnanimity superior to all difficulties, a contempt of riches and honours, a serene tranquillity in the face of death, and an invincible patience under torments still more dreadful than death itself; and all this accompanied with lives free from all stain, and adorned with the constant practice of sublime virtue. Thus were the messengers of the divine Saviour, the heralds of his spiritual and immortal kingdom, furnished for their glorious work, as the unanimous voice of ancient history so loudly testifies. The event sufficiently declares this; for without these remarkable and extraordinary circumstances, no rational account can be given of the rapid propagation of the gospel throughout the world.

IN vain, therefore, have some imagined, that the extraordinary liberality of the christians to their poor, was a temptation to the more indolent and corrupt part of the multitude to embrace the gospel. Such malignant and superficial reasoners don't consider, that those who embraced this divine religion exposed their lives to the most imminent danger; nor have

have they attention enough to recollect, that neither lazy nor vicious members were suffered to remain in the society of christians. Equally vain is the invention of those, who imagine that the profligate lives of the Heathen Priests was an occasion of the conversion of many to christianity. For, though this might indeed give them a disgust to the religion of those unworthy ministers, yet it could not, alone, attach them to that of Jesus, which offered them from the world no other prospects than those of poverty, infamy, and death. The person who could embrace the gospel, solely from the motive now mentioned, must have reasoned in this senseless and extravagant manner: "The ministers of that religion which I have professed
" from my infancy, lead profligate lives: therefore, I will
" become a christian, join myself to that body of men who
" are condemned by the laws of the state, and thus expose
" my life and fortune to the most imminent danger."

C H A P. V.

Concerning the calamitous Events that happened to the Church.

THE innocence and virtue that distinguished so eminently the lives of Christ's servants, and the spotless purity of the doctrine they taught, were not sufficient to defend them against the virulence and malignity of the Jews, as is shewn in the Acts of the Apostles, and other records of unquestionable authority. The supreme judge of the world did not let the barbarous conduct of this perfidious nation go unpunished. The most signal marks of divine justice pursued them, and the cruelties they had exercised upon Christ and his Disciples, were dreadfully avenged. The God who had for so many ages protected the Jews with an out-stretched arm, withdrew his aid. He permitted *Jerusalem*, with its famous temple, to be destroyed by Vespasian and his son Titus, an innumerable multitude of this devoted people to perish by the sword, and the greatest part of those that remained to groan under the yoke of severe bondage. Nothing can be more affecting than the account of this terrible event, and the circumstantial description of the tremendous calamities which attended it, as they are given by Josephus, himself a Jew, and also a spectator of this horrid scene. From this period the Jews experienced, in every place, the hatred and contempt of the Gentile nations, still more than they had formerly done. And in these their calamities the predictions of Christ were amply fulfilled, and his divine mission further illustrated.

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HOWEVER

HOWEVER virulent the Jews were, yet upon many occasions they wanted power to execute their cruel purposes. This was not the case with the Heathen nations, and therefore from them the Christians suffered the greatest calamities. The Romans are said to have pursued the Christians with the utmost violence in ten persecutions, (d) but this number is not verified by the ancient history of the church. Before we proceed further in this part of our history, a very natural curiosity calls us to enquire, how it happened, that the Romans, who were troublesome to no nation on account of their religion, and who suffered even the Jews to live under their own laws, and follow their own method of worship, treated the Christians alone with such severity? This important question seems still more difficult to be solved, when we consider that the excellent nature of the christian religion, and its admirable tendency to promote both the public welfare of the state, and the private felicity of the individual, entitled it, in a singular manner, to the favour and protection of the reigning powers. One of the principal reasons of the severity, with which the Romans persecuted the Christians, notwithstanding these considerations, seems to have been the abhorrence and contempt, with which the latter regarded the religion of the empire, which was so intimately connected with the constitution. For, though the Romans gave an unlimited toleration to all religions which had nothing dangerous to the commonwealth, yet they would not permit that of their ancestors, which was established

(d) The learned J. Albert Fabricius has given us a history of the Authors that have written concerning these persecutions in his *Lux Evangelii orbi universo exorients*, cap. vii. p. 133.

established by the laws of the state, to be turned into derision, nor the people to be drawn away from their attachment to it. These, however, were the two things which the Christians were charged with, and that justly, though to their honour. They dared to ridicule the absurdities of the Pagan superstition, and they were ardent and assiduous in gaining proselytes to the truth. From hence the Romans concluded, that the Christian sect was not only insupportably daring and arrogant, but moreover an enemy to the public tranquillity, and every way proper to excite civil wars and commotions in the empire. It is probably, on this account, that Tacitus reproaches them with the odious character of *haters of mankind*, (e) and stiles the religion of Jesus a *destructive superstition*.

ANOTHER circumstance that irritated the Romans against the Christians, was the simplicity of their worship, which resembled in nothing the sacred rites of any other people. The Christians had neither sacrifices, nor temples, nor images, nor oracles, nor sacerdotal orders; and this was sufficient to bring upon them the reproaches of an ignorant multitude, who imagined that there could be no religion without these. (How different from this beautiful simplicity, this true religion of the heart, is the christian religion at this day as practised in the church of Rome? who have adopted and brought into its ceremonies all the superstitions and idolatrous worship of Heathen Rome.) Thus they were looked upon as a sort of Atheists, and, by the Roman laws, those who were chargeable with Atheism, were declared the pests of society. But

(e) Annal. lib. xv. cap. xliv.

this was not all: the fordid interests of a multitude of lazy and selfish priests were immediately connected with the ruin and oppression of the christian cause. The public worship of such an immense number of deities was a source of subsistence, and even of riches to the whole rabble of priests and augurs, and also to a multitude of merchants and artists. Had christian Rome sat for its picture, a stronger likeness could not be drawn than this of Heathen Rome.

THOSE who, in perilous times of the church fell by the hand of bloody persecution, and expired in the cause of the divine Saviour, were called *martyrs*, a term borrowed from the sacred writings which signifies *witnesses*, and thus expresses the glorious testimony which these magnanimous believers bore to the truth. The veneration that was paid to both *martyrs* and *confessors*, (the latter those who confessed their firm attachment to the religion of Jesus before the Roman tribunals) is hardly credible. But as the best and wisest institutions are generally perverted, by the weakness or corruption of men from their original purpose; so the authority and privileges granted, in the beginning, to martyrs and confessors, became, in process of time, a support to superstition, an incentive to enthusiasm, and a source of innumerable evils and abuses.

C H A P. VI.

Concerning the Doctors and Ministers of the Church, and its Form of Government.

THE great end of Christ's mission was to form an universal church, gathered out of all the nations of the world, and to extend the limits of this great society from age to age. But, in order to this, it was necessary, first, to appoint *extraordinary teachers*, who, converting the Jews and Gentiles to the truth, should erect, every where, christian assemblies; and then to establish *ordinary ministers*, and interpreters of the divine will, who should enforce and repeat the doctrines delivered by the former, and maintain the people in their holy profession, and in the practice of the christian virtues. For the best system of religion must necessarily either dwindle to nothing, or be egregiously corrupted, if it is not perpetually inculcated and explained by a regular and standing ministry.

THE *extraordinary* teachers, whom Christ employed to lay the foundations of his everlasting kingdom, were the XII Apostles and the LXX Disciples, of whom mention has been made above. To these the Evangelists are to be added, by which title those were distinguished whom the Apostles sent to instruct the nations, or who, of their own accord, abandoned every worldly attachment, and consecrated themselves to the sacred office of propagating the gospel. (f) In this rank also, we

(f) See St. Paul's *Epistle to the Ephesians*, iv. 11. as also Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. cap. xxxvii.

we must place those, to whom, in the infancy of the church, the marvellous power of speaking foreign languages which they had never learned, was communicated from above. For the person to whom the divine omnipotence and liberality had imparted the gift of tongues, might conclude, with the utmost assurance, from the gift itself (which a wise being would not bestow in vain) that he was appointed by God to minister unto the truth, and to employ his talents in the service of Christianity. (g)

MANY have undertaken to write the history of the Apostles, (h) a history which we find loaded with fables, doubts and difficulties, when we pursue it further than the book of the New Testament, and the most ancient writers in the christian church.

NEITHER Christ himself, nor his holy Apostles have commanded any thing clearly or expressly concerning the external form of the Church, and the precise method, according to which it should be governed. From this we may infer, that the regulation of this was, in some measure to be accommodated to the time, and left to the wisdom and prudence of the chief rulers, both of the State and of the Church. If, however, it is true, that the Apostles acted by divine inspiration, and in conformity with the commands of their blessed master,

(g) 1 Cor. xiv. 22. (h) The Authors who have written concerning the Apostles, are enumerated by Sagittarius in his *Introduction to Ecclesiastical History*, ch. i. p. 2. and also by Buddæus, in his *Treatise De Ecclesia Apostolica*, p. 674.

master, (and this no christian can call in question,) then it follows, that that form of government which the primitive Churches borrowed from that of *Jerusalem*, the first christian assembly established by the Apostles themselves, must be esteemed as of divine institution. But from this it would be wrong to conclude that such a form is immutable and ought to be invariably observed, for this a great variety of events may render impossible. In those early times, every christian Church consisted of the *people*, their *leaders*, and the *Ministers* or *Deacons*, and these, indeed belong essentially to every religious society. The people were, undoubtedly, the first in authority; for the Apostles shewed by their own example, that nothing of moment was to be carried on or determined without the consent of the assembly (i), and such a method of proceeding was both prudent and necessary in those critical times.

It was, therefore, the assembly of the people which chose their own rulers and teachers, or received them by a free and authoritative consent, when recommended by others. The same people rejected or confirmed by their suffrages, the laws, that were proposed by their rulers to the assembly; excommunicated profligate and unworthy members of the Church; restored the penitent to their forfeited privileges; passed judgment upon the different subjects of controversy and dissension, that arose in their community; examined and decided the disputes which happened between the elders and Deacons; and in a word, exercised all that authority which belongs to such as are vested with the sovereign power.

THE

(i) Acts i. 15. vi. 3. xv. 4. xxi. 22.

THE people, indeed, had, in some measure, purchased these privileges by administering to the support of their Rulers, Ministers, and Poor, and by offering large and generous contributions, when the safety or interests of the community rendered them necessary. There reigned among the members of the christian Church, however distinguished they were by worldly rank and titles, not only an amiable harmony, but also a perfect equality. This appears by the *feasts of charity*, in which all were indiscriminately assembled; by the names of *brethren* and *sisters*, with which they mutually saluted each other; and by several circumstances of a like nature. The rulers of the Church were called either *presbyters* (k) or *Bishops*, which two titles are, in the New Testament, undoubtedly applied to the same order of men (l).

THE Church was, undoubtedly, provided from the beginning with inferior Ministers or *Deacons*. No society can be without its servants, and still less such societies as those of the first Christians were. It is highly probable, that the Church of *Jerusalem*, grown considerably numerous, and deprived of the ministry of the Apostles, who were gone to instruct the other nations, were the first which chose a president or Bishop. And it is no less probable, that the other Churches followed by degrees such a respectable example.

THE

(k) The word *presbyter*, or elder, is taken from the Jewish institution, and signifies rather the venerable prudence and wisdom of old age, than age itself.

(l) Acts xx. 17, 28. Phil. i. 1. Tit. i. 5, 7. 1 Tim. iii. 1.

THE Churches, in those early times, were entirely independent; none of them subject to any foreign jurisdiction, but each one governed by its own rulers and its own laws. For, though the Churches founded by the Apostles, had this particular deference shewn them, that they were consulted in difficult and doubtful cases; yet they had no juridical authority, no sort of supremacy over the others, nor the least right to enact laws for them. Nothing on the contrary, is more evident than the perfect equality that reigned among the primitive Churches, nor does there even appear, in the first century, the smallest trace of that association of provincial Churches, from which *councils* and *metropolitans* derive their origin. It was only in the second century that the custom of holding councils commenced in *Greece*, from whence it soon spread through other provinces (m).

THE principal place among the christian Doctors, and among those also, who by their writings were instrumental in the progress of the truth, is due to the Apostles and certain of their Disciples, who were set apart and inspired by God, to record the actions of Christ and his Apostles. The writings of these holy men, which are comprehended in the Books of

F the

(m) The meeting of the Church of *Jerusalem*, mentioned in the xvth chap. of the Acts, is commonly considered as the first *christian council*. But this notion arises from a manifest abuse of the word *council*. That meeting was only of one Church, and, if such a meeting be called a *council*, it will follow that there were innumerable councils in the primitive times. But every one knows, that a *council* is an assembly of deputies or commissioners sent from several Churches associated by certain bonds in a general body, and therefore the supposition above mentioned falls to the ground.

the New Testament, are in the hands of all who profess themselves christians. We are well assured that the *four Gospels* were collected during the life of St. John, and that the three first received the approbation of this divine Apostle. This is expressly affirmed by Eusebius in the xxivth chapter of the third Book of his Ecclesiastical History. And why may we not suppose that the other Books of the New Testament were gathered together at the same time?

WHAT renders this highly probable is, that the most urgent necessity required its being done. For not long after Christ's ascension into Heaven, several Histories of his life and doctrines, full of pious frauds, and fabulous wonders, were composed by persons, whose intentions, perhaps, were not bad, but whose writings discovered the greatest superstition and ignorance. Nor was this all: many productions appeared which were imposed upon the world by fraudulent men, as the writings of the holy Apostles (n). These Apocryphal and spurious writings must have produced a sad confusion, and rendered both the history and the doctrine of Christ uncertain, had not the rulers of the Church used all possible care and diligence in separating the Books that were truly Apostolical and divine from all that spurious trash, and conveying them down to posterity in one volume.

WE

(n) Such of these writings as are yet extant have been carefully collected by the learned Fabricius, in his *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, which work is published in two volumes. Many ingenious and learned observations have been made on these spurious books by the celebrated Beausobre, in his *Histoire Critique des dogmes de Manichée*, livre ii. p. 337, &c.

WE may here remark in general, that those Apostolic writers, who, in the infancy of the Church, employed their pens in the cause of christianity, were neither remarkable for their learning, nor their eloquence. On the contrary, they express the most pious and admirable sentiments in the plainest and most illiterate style. This indeed, is rather a matter of honour than of reproach to the christian cause; since we see from the conversion of a great part of mankind to the Gospel by the Ministry of weak and illiterate men, that the progress of Christianity is not to be attributed to human means, but to a divine power.

CHAP. VII.

Concerning the Doctrines of the Christian Church in this Century.

THE whole of the christian religion is comprehended in two great points, of which the first regards what we are to believe, and the other relative to our conduct and actions; or to express the matter more briefly, the Gospel presents to us objects of *faith* and rules of *practice*. The former are expressed by the Apostles by the term *mystery* or the *truth*; and the latter by that of *godliness* or *piety* (o). The rule and standard

F 2

of

(o) 1 Tim. iii. 9. vi. 3. Tit. i. 1.

of both are those books which contain the Revelation, that God made of his will to persons chosen for that purpose, whether before or after the birth of Christ. And these divine books are usually called *the Old and New Testament*.

THE Apostles and their Disciples took all possible care, and that in the earliest times of the Church, that these sacred books might be in the hands of all christians, that they might be read and explained in the assemblies of the faithful, and thus contribute both in private and in public, to excite and nourish in the minds of christians a fervent zeal for the truth, and a firm attachment to the ways of piety and virtue. The method of teaching the sacred doctrines of religion, was, at this time, most simple, far removed from all the subtle rules of philosophy, and all the precepts of human art. This appears abundantly, not only in the writings of the Apostles, but also in all those of the second century, which have survived the ruins of time.

THERE is, indeed, extant, a brief summary of the principal doctrines of christianity in that *form*, which bears the name of the *Apostles Creed*, and which, from the fourth century downwards, was generally considered as a production of the Apostles. All, however, who have the least knowledge of antiquity, look upon this opinion as entirely false and destitute of all foundation (p). There is much more reason and judgment in the opinion of those, who think that this

creed

(p) See Euddens's *Isagoge ad Theologium*, lib. i. cap. ii. § 2. p. 441 ; as also Walchii *Introductio in libros Symbolicos*, lib. i. p. 87.

creed was not all composed at once, but from small beginnings was imperceptibly augmented in proportion to the growth of heresy, and according to the exigencies and circumstances of the Church, from whence it was designed to banish the errors that daily arose (q).

IN the earliest times of the Church, all who professed firmly to believe that Jesus was the only redeemer of the world, and who, in consequence of this profession, promised to live in a manner conformable to the purity of his holy religion, were immediately received among the Disciples of Christ. This was all the preparation for *baptism* there required, and a more accurate instruction in the doctrines of christianity was to be administered to them after their receiving that sacrament.

THE christians took all possible care to accustom their children to the study of the scriptures, and to instruct them in the doctrines of their holy religion; and schools were every where erected for this purpose even from the very commencement of the christian Church. We must not, however, confound the *schools* designed only for children with the *gymnasia*, or academies of the ancient christians, erected in several large Cities,

(q) This opinion is confirmed in the most learned and ingenious manner by Sir Peter King, in his *History of the Apostles Creed*. Such however, as read this valuable work with pleasure, and with a certain degree of prepossession, would do well to consider, that its learned author upon several occasions, has given us conjectures instead of proofs, and also that his conjectures are not always so happy, as justly to command our assent.

Cities, in which persons of riper years, especially such as aspired to be publick teachers, were instructed in the different branches both of human learning and of sacred erudition. We may undoubtedly, attribute to the Apostles themselves and their injunctions to their Disciples those excellent establishments, in which the youth destined to the holy Ministry received an education suitable to the solemn office they were to undertake (r). St. John erected a school at *Ephesus*, and one of the same nature was founded by Polycarp at *Smyrna* (s). But none of these were in greater repute than that which was established in *Alexandria* (t), which was commonly called the *catechetical school*, and is generally supposed to have been erected by St. Mark (u).

ONE

(r) 2 Tim. ii.

(s) Irenæus, *Adv. Hæres.* lib. ii. cap. xxii. p. 148. ed. Massuet, Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. v. cap. xx. p. 188.

(t) The Alexandrian school was renowned for a succession of learned Doctors, as we find by the account of Eusebius and St. Jerom; for after St. Mark, Pantænus, Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, and many others taught in it the doctrines of the Gospel, and rendered it a famous seminary for christian philosophy and religious knowledge. There were also at *Rome*, *Antioch*, *Cæsarea*, *Edeffa*, and in several other places, schools of the same nature, though not all of equal reputation.

(u) See the dissertation of Schmidius, *de schola Catechetica Alexandrina*; as also Aulifius *Della scuole sacre*, book ii. ch. i, ii. p. 5—17. and ch. xxi. p. 92. The curious reader will find a learned account of the more famous christian schools in the eastern parts, at *Edeffa*, *Nisibis*, and *Seleucia*, and indeed of the ancient schools in general, in Assemanus's *Biblioth. Oriental. Clement. Vaticanae*, tom. iii. par. II. p. 914.—919.

ONE of the circumstances which contributed chiefly to preserve at least, an external appearance of sanctity in the christian Church, was the right of excluding from thence, and from all participation of the sacred rites and ordinances of the Gospel, such as had been guilty of enormous transgressions, and to whom repeated exhortations to repentance and amendments had been administered in vain. This right was vested in the Church, from the earliest period of its existence, by the Apostles themselves, and was exercised by each christian assembly upon its respective members. The rulers or Doctors denounced the persons whom they thought unworthy of the privileges of Church-communion, and the people freely approving or rejecting their judgment, pronounced the decisive sentence. It was not, however, irrevocable; for such as gave undoubted signs of their sincere repentance, and declared their solemn resolutions of future reformation, were re-admitted into the Church, however enormous their crimes had been; but in case of a relapse, their second exclusion became absolutely irreverfible (u).

It will be easily imagined, that unity and peace could not reign long in the church, fince it was composed of Jews and Gentiles, who regarded each other with the bitterest averfion. Befides, as the converts to christianity could not extirpate radically the prejudices which had been formed in their minds by education and confirmed by time, they brought with them into the bofom of the church more or lefs of the errors of their former

(u) See Morinus, *Comm. de Difciplina Pœnitentiæ*, lib. ix, cap. xix. p. 670.

former religions. Thus the seeds of discord and controversy were early sown, and could not fail to spring up soon into animosities and dissensions, which accordingly broke out and divided the church. The first of these controversies which was set on foot in the church of *Antioch* regarded the necessity of observing the law of Moses, and its issue is mentioned by St. Luke in *the Acts of the Apostles*. (w) This controversy was followed by many others, either with the Jews, who were violently attached to the worship of their ancestors, or with the votaries of a wild and fanatical sort of philosophy, or with such as mistaking the true genius of the christian religion abused it monstrously to the encouragement of their appetites and passions. (x) St. Paul and the other Apostles have, in several places of their writings, mentioned these controversies, but with such brevity, that it is difficult, at this distance of time, to come at the true state of the question in these various disputes.

THE most weighty and important of all these controversies was that, which certain Jewish doctors raised at *Rome*, and in other christian churches, concerning the means of justification and acceptance with God, and the method of salvation pointed out in the word of God. The Apostles, wherever they exercised their ministry, had constantly declared all hopes of acceptance and salvation delusive, except such as were founded on Jesus the Redeemer, and his all-sufficient *merits*, while the
Jewish

(w) Ch. xv.

(x) See for an illustration of these points, Witsius's *Miscellanea Sacra*, tom. ii. Exercit. xx, xxi, xxii, p. 668. As also Camp, Vitringa, *Observ. Sacra*. lib. iv. cap. ix, x, xi. p. 952.

Jewish doctors maintained the *works* of the law to be the true efficient cause of the soul's eternal salvation and felicity. This latter sentiment not only led to many other errors extremely prejudicial to christianity, but was also injurious to the glory of the divine Saviour. For those who looked upon a course of life conformable to the law, as a meritorious title to eternal happiness, could not consider Christ as the Son of God, and the Saviour of Mankind, but only as an eminent prophet, or a divine messenger sent from above to enlighten and instruct a darkened world. It is not, therefore, surprizing, that St. Paul took so much pains in his *Epistles to the Romans*, and in his other writings to extirpate such a pernicious and capital error.

THE controversy that had been raised concerning the necessity of observing the ceremonies of the Mosaic law, was determined by the Apostles in the wisest and most prudent manner. (y) The force of these prejudices was indeed somewhat diminished after the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and the ruin of the temple, but not entirely destroyed.

(y) Acts xv.

CHAP. VIII.

Concerning the Rites and Ceremonies used in the Church during this first Century.

THE christian religion was singularly commendable on account of its beautiful and divine simplicity, which appears from the two great and fundamental principles on which it was built, viz. *faith* and *charity*. This simplicity was not, however, incompatible with certain external rites, and positive institutions, which, indeed, are necessary in this imperfect state, to keep alive a sense of religion in the minds of men. The rites instituted by Christ himself were only two in number, and these designed to continue to the end of the church here below, without any variation. These rites were *baptism* and the *holy supper*, which are not to be considered as mere ceremonies, nor yet as symbolic representations, only, but also as ordinances accompanied with a sanctifying influence upon the heart and affections of true christians. And we cannot help observing here, that since the divine Saviour thought fit to appoint no more than two plain institutions in his church, this shews us that a number of ceremonies is not essential to his religion, and that he left it to the free and prudent choice of christians to establish such rites as the circumstances of the times, or the exigencies of the church required.

THERE are several circumstances which incline us to think that the friends and apostles of our blessed Lord, either tolerated

rated through necessity, or appointed for wise reasons many other external rites in various places. At the same time we are not to imagine that they ever conferred upon any person a perpetual, indelible, pontifical authority, or that they enjoined the same rites in all churches. We learn on the contrary, from authentic records, that the christian worship was, from the beginning, celebrated in a different manner in different places, and that, no doubt, by the orders, or at least with the approbation of the apostles and their disciples. From hence it follow, that the opinion of those who maintain that the Jewish rites were adopted *every where*, in the christian churches, by order of the apostles or their disciples, is destitute of all foundation. In those christian societies, which were totally or principally composed of Jewish converts, it was natural to retain as much of the Jewish ritual as the genius of christianity would suffer, and a multitude of examples testify that this was actually done. But that the same translation of Jewish rites should take place in christian churches, where there were no Jews, or a very small and inconsiderable number, is utterly incredible, because such an event was morally impossible. There were certain laws, whose authority and obligation were universal and indispensable among all christians, and of these we shall give a brief account. All christians were unanimous in setting apart the first day of the week, on which the triumphant Saviour arose from the dead, for the solemn celebration of public worship. This pious custom, which was derived from the example of the church of *Jerusalem*, was founded upon the express appointment of the

apostles, who consecrated that day to the same sacred purpose, and was observed universally throughout all the christian churches, as appears from the united testimonies of the most credible writers. (x) The seventh day of the week was also observed as a festival (a), not by christians in general, but by such churches only as were principally composed of Jewish converts, nor did the other christians censure this custom as criminal and unlawful. It appears, moreover, that all the christian churches observed two great anniversary festivals, the one in memory of Christ's glorious resurrection; and the other to commemorate the descent of the Holy Ghost upon the apostles. (b) The places in which the first christians assembled to

(x) Phil. Jac. Hartmannus, *de rebus gestis Christianorum sub Apostolis*, cap. xv. p. 387. Just. Henn. Bohmer, *Dissert. i. Juris Eccles. Antiqui de stato die Christianor.* p. 20. &c.

(a) Steph. Curcellæus, *Diatriba de esu Sanguinis. Operum Theolog.* p. 958 Gab. Albaspinæus, *Observat. Eccles. lib. i. Observ. xiii.* p. 53. It is in vain, that many learned men have laboured to prove that, in all the primitive churches, both the first and last day of the week were observed as festivals. The churches of Bithynia, of which Pliny speaks in his letter to Trajan, had only *one stated day* for the celebration of the public worship; and that was undoubtedly the first day of the week, or what we call the *Lord's day*.

(b) There are, it is true, learned men, who look upon it as a doubtful matter, whether or no the day of Pentecost was celebrated as a festival so early as the first century. See Bingham's *Antiquities of the Christian church*, book xx. ch. vi. p. 120. But notwithstanding that there are many weighty reasons for believing that festival as ancient as that of Easter, which was celebrated, as all agree, from the very first rise of the church. It is also probable, that Friday, the day of Christ's crucifixion, was early distinguished by particular honours from the other days of the week. See Jac. Godofred, in *Codicem Theodosii*, tom. i. p. 138. Asseman. *Biblioth. Oriental. Vaticana*, tom. i. 217. 237. Martene *Theaur. Anecd.* tome v. p. 66.

(c)
422.

(d)

to celebrate divine worship, were, no doubt, the houses of private persons. But in process of time it became necessary, that these sacred assemblies should be confined to one fixed place, in which the books, tables and desks required in divine service, might be constantly kept, and the dangers avoided, which in those perilous times attended their transportation from one place to another. (c) These few remarks are, in my opinion, sufficient to determine that question, which had been so long and so tediously debated, viz. *Whether the first christians had churches, or not?* Since if any are pleased to give the name of *church* to a house, or the part of a house, which tho' appointed as the place of religious worship, was neither separated from common use, nor considered as holy in the opinion of the people, it will be readily granted that the most ancient christians had churches.

IN these assemblies the holy scriptures were publicly read, and for that purpose were divided into certain portions or lessons. This part of divine service was followed by a brief exhortation to the people, in which eloquence and art gave place to the natural and fervent expression of zeal and charity. If any declared themselves extraordinarily animated by the holy spirit, they were permitted to explain successively the divine will, while the other prophets who were present, decided how much weight and authority was to be attributed to what they said. (d) The prayers, which made a considerable part

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(c) See Camp. Vitringa, *de synagoga vetera*, lib. i. par. lii. cap. i. p. 422.

(d) See Blondel, *de Episcopis et Presbyteris*, f. 3. p. 216. 243. 246. Just.

of the public worship, came in at the conclusion of these discourses, and were repeated by the people, after the bishop or presbyter, who presided in the service. (e) To these were added certain hymns, which were sung, not by the whole assembly, but by persons appointed for that purpose, during the celebration of the Lord's Supper and the Feasts of Charity. Such were the essential parts of divine worship, which were observed in all christian churches, though perhaps the method and order, in which they were performed were not the same in all. (f)

THE prayers of the first christians were followed by *oblations* of bread, wine and other things; and hence both the ministers of the church and the poor derived their subsistence. Every christian, who was in an opulent condition, and indeed every one, according to their circumstances, brought with them their gifts, and offered them, as it were, unto the Lord. (g) Of the bread and wine, presented in these offerings, such a quantity was separated from the rest, as was required in the administration of the Lord's Supper; this was consecrated by certain

Just. Henn. Bohmer. Dissert. ii. Juris Eccles. Antiqui, de Antelucanis Christianorum Coetibus, l. 4. p. 39. Bingham's Antiquities of the christian church, book vii. ch. i. l. 3, 4, 5, 6.

(e) i Cor. xiv. 16.

(f) This must be understood of churches well established, and regulated by fixed and certain laws. For in the first christian assemblies, which were yet in an imperfect and fluctuating state, one or other of these circumstances of divine worship may possibly have been omitted.

(g) See the Dissertations of the venerable and learned Pfaff, *de oblatione et consecratione Eucharistica*, which are contained in his *Syntagma dissertation. Theologic.* published at Stutgard, in 8vo. in the year 1720.

certain prayers pronounced by the bishop alone, to which the people assented by saying Amen. (h) The holy supper was distributed by the *deacons*; and this sacred institution was followed by sober repasts, which from the excellent end they were designed to promote, were called *agapæ*, or *feasts* of charity. (i) Many attempts have been made to fix precisely the nature of these social feasts. But here it must be again considered, that the rites and customs of the primitive christians were very different in different countries, and that consequently these feasts, like other institutions, were not every where celebrated in the same manner. This is the true and only way of explaining all the difficulties that can arise upon this subject.

THE sacrament of *baptism* was administered in this century, without the public assemblies, in places appointed and prepared for that purpose, and was performed by immersion of the whole body in the baptismal font. (k) There were, doubtless, several circumstantial rites and ceremonies observed, in the administration of this sacrament, for the sake of order and decency. Of these, however, it is not easy, nor perhaps, possible to give a certain or satisfactory account; since upon this subject

(h) Justin Martyr *Apologia Secunda*, p. 98. The several authors who have written concerning the manner of celebrating the Lord's Supper, are mentioned by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, in his *Bibliograph. Antiquar.* cap. xi. p. 395, &c.

(i) The authors who have written concerning the *Agapæ*, or *Feasts of Charity*, are mentioned by J. Higijs, in his *Selecta Historiæ Eccles. Capita*, Sæc. ii. cap. iii. p. 180. and also by Pfaff. *de originibus Juris Eccles.* p. 68.

(k) See the learned Dissertation of Jo. Gerard Vossius concerning baptism, Disp. i. Thef. vi. p. 31, &c.

ject we are too much exposed to the illusion which arises from confounding the custom of the primitive times with those of succeeding ages.

NEITHER Christ nor his apostles enacted any law concerning *fasting*. A custom, however, prevailed among many christians of joining abstinence with their prayers, especially when they were engaged in affairs of extraordinary moment and importance. (l) As this custom was authorized by no public law, the time that was to be employed in these acts of abstinence was left to every one's private judgment, nor were those looked upon as criminal, who contented themselves with observing the rules of a strict temperance, without going any further. (m) In the most ancient times we find no mention of any public and solemn fasts, except upon the anniversary of Christ's crucifixion. But in process of time, days of fasting were gradually introduced, first by custom, and afterwards by positive appointment; though it is not certain what those days were, nor whether they were observed in the first century.

(l) 1 Cor. vii. 5.

(m) See the Shepherd of Hermas, book iii. *similitud.* v. p. 931. 935. edition of Fabricius.

C H A P. IX.

Concerning the Seditions and Heresies which troubled the Church during this first Century.

THE christian church was scarcely formed, when, in different places, there started up certain pretended reformers, who, not satisfied with the simplicity of that religion which was taught by the apostles, meditated changes of doctrine and worship, and set up a new religion drawn from their own licentious imaginations. This we learn from the writings of the apostles, and particularly from the Epistles of St. Paul, where we find that some were for forcing the doctrines of christianity into a conformity with the philosophical systems they had adopted. (n) The influence of these new teachers was but inconsiderable at first. During the lives of the apostles, their attempts towards the perversion of christianity were attended with little success, and the number of their followers was exceeding small. They, however, acquired credit and strength by degrees; the true state of these divisions is more involved in darkness than any other part of ecclesiastical history; of one thing indeed we are certain, and that is, that the most of these doctrines were chimerical and extravagant in the highest degree; and so far from containing any thing that could recommend them to a lover of truth, that they rather deserve to occupy a place in the history of human delusion and folly. (o)

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(n) 1 Tim. vi. 20. 1 Tim. i. 3, 4. Tit. iii. 9. Col. ii. 8.

(o) Certain authors have written professedly concerning the sects that

AMONG the various sects that troubled the tranquillity of the christian church, the leading one was that of the Gnostics. These enthusiastic and self-sufficient philosophers boasted of their being able to restore mankind to the *knowledge* (gnosis) of the true and supreme being, which had been lost in the world. An opinion has prevailed, derived from the authority of Clemens the Alexandrian, that the first rise of the Gnostic sect is to be dated after the death of the apostles, and placed under the reign of the emperor Adrian: But the smallest degree of attention to the language of the holy scripture, not to mention the authority of other ancient records will prevent our adopting this groundless notion. For, from several passages of the sacred writings (p), it evidently appears, that even in the first century, the general meeting of christians was deserted, and separate assemblies were formed in several places, by persons infected with the Gnostic heresy. It is proper just to observe here, that under the general appellation of Gnostics are comprehended all those who, in the first ages of christianity, corrupted the doctrine of the gospel by a profane mixture of the tenets of the oriental philosophy, (concerning the origin

of that divided the church in this and the following century, such as J. Hignius in his treatise, *de hæresiarchis ævi Apostolici et Apostolico proximi*, printed at Leipsick in 1690, and also in the Appendix to the same work published in 1696. Renatus Massuet, in his dissertations prefixed to Irenæus, and Tillemont, in his *Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire de l'Eglise*. But these authors, and others whom we shall not mention, have rather collected the materials, from which an history of the ancient sects may be composed, than written their history. Hinckleman, Thomafius, Dodwell, Hobbius, and Basnage, have some of them promised, others of them attempted, such a history; but none of them have finished this useful design.

(p) 1 John ii, 18. 1 Tim. vi, 20. Col. ii, 8.

of evil, and the creation of the world) with its divine truths. From the false principle above-mentioned arose, as it was but natural to expect, a multitude of sentiments and notions most remote from the tenor of the gospel doctrines, concerning the creation of the world by one or more inferior beings of an evil, or, at least, of an imperfect nature, led that sect to deny the divine authority of the books of the Old Testament, whose accounts of the origin of things so palpably contradicted this idle fiction. Through a frantic aversion to these sacred books, they lavished their encomiums upon the *serpent*, the first author of sin, and held in veneration some of the most impious and profligate persons, of whom mention is made in sacred history.

SUCH extraordinary doctrines had certainly need of an undoubted authority to support them; and as this authority was not to be found in the writings of the evangelists or apostles, recourse was had to fables and stratagems. When the Gnostics were challenged to produce the sources from whence they had drawn such strange tenets, and an authority proper to justify the confidence with which they taught them; some referred to fictitious writings of Abraham, Zoroaster, Christ, and his Disciples; others affirmed that they had arrived to these sublime degrees of wisdom by an innate force and vigour of mind; as to those among the Gnostics, who did not utterly reject the books of the New Testament, it is proper to observe, that they not only interpreted those sacred books in the most absurd manner, by neglecting the true spirit of the words and

the intention of the writers, but also corrupted them, in the most perfidious manner, by curtailings and adding, in order to remove what was unfavourable, or to produce something conformable to their pernicious and extravagant systems.

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THE
EXTERNAL HISTORY
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CHAP. I.

*Concerning the Prosperous Events that happened to the Church
during this Century.*

IN this century the Roman empire was, for the most part, swayed by princes of a mild and moderate turn. This lenity of the emperors was singularly advantageous to those christians who lived under the Roman sceptre; for, though edicts of a
severe

severe nature were issued against them, and the magistrates, animated by the priests and by the multitude, shed their blood with a cruelty which frequently exceeded even the dictates of the most barbarous laws; yet there was always some remedy that accompanied these evils, and softened their severity. Trajan, however condemnable, in other respects, on account of his conduct towards the Christians, was yet engaged, by the representations that Pliny the younger gave of them, to forbid all *search to be made after them*. He also prohibited all anonymous libels and accusations, by which the Christians had so often been perfidiously exposed to the greatest sufferings. (q) Antoninus Pius went so far as to enact penal laws against their accusers. (r) And others by various acts of beneficence and compassion, defended them from the injurious treatment of the priests and people. Hence it came to pass, that in this century the limits of the church were considerably enlarged, and the number of converts to Christianity prodigiously augmented. Of the truth of this we have the most respectable and authentic testimonies in the writings of the ancients; testimonies, whose evidence and authority are every where superior to the vain attempts which some have made to obscure and weaken them. (s)

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(q) See Pliny's *Epistles*, book x. let. xcvi.

(r) Eusebius *Eccl. Histor.* lib. iv. cap. xiii. p. 126.

(s) See Moyle's letters concerning the thundering legion, with the remarks which Dr. Mosheim has annexed to his Latin translation of them, published at the end of a work, entitled *Synagma dissert. ad Sanctorum disciplinas pertinent.* See also the dialogue between Justin Martyr and Trypho the Jew, p. 341.

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It is not easy to point out particularly the different countries on which the light of celestial truth first rose in this age. The ancient records that yet remain do not give us information sufficient to determine that matter with certainty, nor is it, indeed, a matter of much importance. We are, however, assured by the most unexceptionable testimonies, that Christ was worshipped as God, almost throughout the whole East, as also among the Germans, Spaniards, Celts, Britons, and many other nations (t); but which of them received the gospel in the first century, and which in the second, is a question unanswerable at this distance of time. We have no records that mention, with certainty, the establishment of Christian churches in this part of *Europe* before the second century. Pothinus, a man of exemplary piety and zeal, set out from *Asia* in company with Irenæus and others, and laboured in the Christian cause with such success among the Gauls, that churches were established at *Lyons* and *Vienne*, of which Pothinus himself was the first bishop. (u) It is easier to conceive than to express, how much, the *miraculous powers* and *extraordinary gifts* which were displayed in the ministry of the first heralds of the gospel, contributed to enlarge the bounds of the church. These gifts, however, which were given for wise and important reasons, began gradually to diminish in propor-

(t) Irenæus *Contr. Hærej.* lib. ii. cap. x. Tertullian *Adv. Judæos*, cap. vii. p. 212.

(u) See the Epistle of Petrus de Marca, concerning the first rise of Christianity in *France*, published among the dissertations of that author; and also by Valesius, in his edition of Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History*. See also *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. i. p. 223. Liron's *singulairité's Histor. et Littéraires*, vol. iv.

proportion, as the reasons ceased for which they were conferred. And accordingly when almost all nations were enlightened with the truth, and the number of Christian churches increased daily in all places, then the miraculous gift of tongues began gradually to decrease.

C H A P. II.

Concerning the Doctors and Ministers of the Church, and the form of its Government.

THE form of ecclesiastical government, whose commencement we have seen in the last century, was brought in this, to a greater degree of stability and consistence. One inspector, or Bishop, presided over each christian assembly, to which office he was elected by the voices of the whole people. In this post he was to be watchful and provident, attentive to the wants of the Church, and careful to supply them. To assist him in this laborious province, he formed a council of *Presbyters*, which was not confined to any fixed number, and to each of these he distributed his task, and appointed a station in which he was to promote the interests of the Church. To the Bishops and Presbyters, the Ministers or *Deacons*, were subject; and the latter were divided into a variety of classes, as the different exigences of the Church required.

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DURING a great part of this century, the christian Churches were independent of each other, nor were they joined together by association, confederacy, or any other bonds, but those of charity. Each christian assembly was a little state, governed by its own laws, which were either enacted, or, at least, approved by the society. But, in process of time, all the christian Churches of a province were formed into one large ecclesiastical body, which, like confederate states, assembled at certain times in order to deliberate about the common interests of the whole. This institution had its origin among the Greeks, with whom nothing was more common than this confederacy of independent states, and the regular assemblies which met in consequence thereof, at fixed times, and were composed of the deputies of each respective state. But these ecclesiastical associations were not long confined to the Greeks; their great utility was no sooner perceived, than they became universal, and were formed in all places where the Gospel had been planted (s). To these assemblies, in which the deputies or commissioners of several Churches consulted together, the name of *Synods* was appropriated by the Greeks, and that of *councils* by the Latins; and the laws that were enacted in these general meetings were called *Canons*, i. e. *Rules*.

THESE *councils*, of which we find not the smallest trace before the middle of this century, changed the whole face of the Church, and gave it a new form; for by them the ancient privileges of the people were considerably diminished,

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(s) Tertullian, *lib. de Jejuniis*, cap. xiii. p. 711.

and the power and authority of the Bishops greatly augmented. The humility, indeed, and prudence of these pious Prelates, prevented their assuming all at once the power with which they were afterwards invested. At their first appearance in these general councils, they acknowledged that they were no more than the delegates of their respective Churches, and that they acted in the name, and by the appointment of their people. But they soon changed this humble tone, imperceptibly extended the limits of their authority, turned their influence into dominion, and their counsels into laws, and openly asserted, at length, that Christ had empowered them to prescribe to his people *authoritative rules of faith and manners*. Another effect of these councils was, the gradual abolition of that perfect equality, which reigned among all Bishops in the primitive times. For the order and decency of these assemblies required, that some one of the provincial Bishops met in council, should be invested with a superior degree of power and authority; and hence the rights of Metropolitans derive their origin. In the mean time, the bounds of the Church were enlarged; the custom of holding councils was followed wherever the sound of the Gospel had reached, and the universal Church had now the appearance of one vast republic formed by a combination of a great number of little states. This occasioned the creation of a new order of ecclesiastics, who were appointed in different parts of the world, as heads of the Church, and whose office it was to preserve the consistence and union of that immense body, whose numbers were so widely dispersed throughout the nations. Such was the nature and office of the *Patriarchs*,
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among whom, at length, ambition being arrived to its most insolent period, formed a new dignity, investing the Bishop of *Rome*, and his successors, with the title and authority of prince of the Patriarchs.

THE christian Doctors had the good fortune to persuade the people, that the Ministers of the christian Church had succeeded to the character, rights, and privileges of the Jewish Priesthood, and this persuasion was a new source both of honours and profit to the sacred order. This notion was propagated with industry some time after the reign of Adrian, when the second destruction of *Jerusalem* had extinguished among the Jews all hopes of seeing their government restored to its former lustre, and their country arising out of ruins. And, accordingly, the Bishop's considered themselves as invested with a rank and character similar to those of the High-priest among the Jews, while the *Presbyters* represented the Priests, and the *Deacons* the *Levites*. It is indeed, highly probable, that they, who first introduced this absurd comparison of offices, so entirely distinct, did it rather through ignorance and error, than through artifice or design. The notion, however, once introduced, produced its natural effects, and these effects were pernicious. The errors to which it gave rise were many, and one of its immediate consequences was the establishing a greater difference between the christian pastors and their flock, than the genius of the Gospel seems to admit. From the government of the Church, let us consider those who maintained its cause. Among these was Justin, a man of eminent piety and learning. We have yet remaining his two *apologies* in behalf of the christians, which are most deservedly

held in high esteem. Irenæus, Bishop of *Lyons*, a Greek by birth, and Disciple of Polycarp, by whom he was sent to preach the Gospel among the Gauls, is another writer of this century, whose labours were singularly useful to the Church. Athenagoras also deserves a place among the estimable writers of this age. He was a philosopher of no mean reputation, and his *apology* for the christians, as well as his *treatise upon the resurrection* afford striking proofs of his learning and genius. Theophilus Bishop of *Antioch*, and Clemens the Disciple of Pantænus, and the head of the Alexandrian school.

CHAP. II.

Concerning the Doctrine of the Christian Church in this Century.

THE christian system, as it was hitherto taught, preserved its native, and beautiful simplicity, and was comprehended in a small number of articles. The public teachers inculcate no other doctrines, than those that are contained in, what is commonly called, the *Apostles Creed*: and in the method of illustrating them, all vain subtilties, all mysterious researches, every thing that was beyond the reach of common capacities, were carefully avoided. This will by no means appear surprising to those who consider, that, at this time, there was not the least controversy about those capital doctrines of christianity, which were afterwards so keenly debated in the Church; and who reflect, that the Bishops of these primitive times were, for the most part, plain and illiterate men, remarkable rather for their piety and zeal, than for their learning and eloquence.

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THIS venerable simplicity was not, indeed, of a long duration ; its beauty was gradually effaced by the laborious efforts of human learning, and the dark subtilties of imaginary science. Acute researches were employed upon several religious subjects, concerning which ingenious decisions were pronounced ; and, what was worst of all, several tenets of a chimerical philosophy were imprudently incorporated into the christian system. This disadvantageous change, this unhappy alteration of the primitive simplicity of the christian religion was chiefly owing to two reasons, the one drawn from pride, and the other from a sort of necessity. The former was the eagerness of certain learned men, to bring about an union between the doctrines of christianity, and the opinions of the philosophers ; for they thought it a very fine accomplishment to be able to express the precepts of Christ in the language of *philosophers*, *Civilians*, and *Rabbins*. The other reason, that contributed to alter the simplicity of the christian religion, was, the necessity of having recourse to logical definitions and nice distinctions, in order to confound the sophistical arguments which the infidel and the heretic employed, the one to overturn the christian system, and the other to corrupt it. Many examples might be alledged, which verify the observations we have now been making ; and if the reader is desirous of a striking one, he has only to take a view of the doctrines which began to be taught in this century, concerning the state of the soul after the dissolution of the body. Jesus and his Disciples had simply declared, that the souls of good men were, at their departure from their bodies, to be received into Heaven, while those of the wicked were to be sent to Hell ; and this

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was sufficient for the first Disciples of Christ to know, as they had more piety than curiosity, and were satisfied with the knowledge of this solemn fact, without any inclination to penetrate its *manner*, or to pry into its secret reasons. But this plain doctrine was soon disguised when Platonism began to infect christianity. Plato had taught, that the souls of heroes, of illustrious men, and eminent philosophers alone, ascended after death, into the mansions of light and felicity; while those of the generality, weighed down by their lusts and passions, sunk into the infernal regions, from whence they were not permitted to emerge, before they were purified from their turpitude and corruption (t). This doctrine was seized with avidity by the Platonic christians, and applied as a commentary upon that of Jesus. Hence a notion prevailed, that the *Martyrs* only entered upon a state of happiness immediately after death, and, that for the rest, a certain obscure region was assigned, in which they were to be imprisoned until the second coming of Christ, or, at least, until they were purified from their various pollutions. This doctrine, enlarged and improved upon by the irregular fancies of injudicious men, became a source of innumerable errors, vain ceremonies, and monstrous superstitions.

BUT, however, the doctrines of the Gospel may have been abused by the commentaries and interpretations of different sects, yet all were unanimous in regarding with veneration the
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(t) See an ample account of the opinions of the Platonies, and other ancient philosophers, upon this subject, in the notes which Dr. Mosheim has added to his Latin translation of Cudworth's *Intellectual system*, tom ii. p. 1036.

holy scriptures, as the great rule of faith and manners ; and hence that laudable and pious zeal of adapting them to the general use. Pantenus the head of the Alexandrian school, was probably the first, who enriched the Church with a version of the sacred writings, which has been lost among the ruins of time. The same fate attended the *commentary* of Clemens the Alexandrian upon the *canonical epistles* ; and also another celebrated work (u) of the same author, in which he is said to have explained, in a compendious manner, almost all the sacred writings. The *harmony of the Evangelists*, composed by Tatian, is yet extant. They all attributed a *double sense* to the words of scripture, the one *obvious* and literal ; the other *hidden* and mysterious, which lay concealed, as it were, under the veil of the outward letter. The former, they treated with the utmost neglect, and turned the whole force of their genius and application to unfold the latter : or, in other words, they were more studious to darken the holy scriptures with their idle fictions, than to investigate their true and natural sense. Some of them also forced the expressions of sacred writ out of their obvious meaning, in order to apply them to the support of their philosophical systems, of which dangerous and pernicious attempts, Clemens, of *Alexandria*, is said to have given the first example. With respect to the expositors of the Old Testament in this century, we shall only make this general remark, that their excessive veneration for the Alexandrian version, commonly called the Septuagint, which they regarded almost as of divine authority, confined their views, fettered, as it were, their critical spirit, and hindered them from producing

(u) Viz. demens *Hypotyposes*.

ducing any thing excellent in the way of sacred criticism or interpretation. This *double doctrine* produced, all of a sudden, a new of men, who made profession of uncommon degrees of sanctity and virtue, and declared their resolution of obeying all the counsels of Christ, in order to their enjoying communion with God here; and also, that after the dissolution of their mortal bodies, they might ascend to him with the greater facility, and find nothing to retard their approach to the supreme centre of their happiness and perfection. They looked upon themselves as prohibited the use of things, which it was lawful for other christians to enjoy, such as *wine, flesh, matrimony, and commerce*. They thought it their indispensable duty to extenuate the body by watchings, abstinence, labour, and hunger. They looked for felicity in solitary retreats, in desert places, where, by severe and assiduous efforts of sublime meditation, they raised the soul above all external objects, and all sensual pleasures. Both men and women imposed upon themselves the most severe task, the most austere discipline; all which, however, the fruits of pious intention, was, in the issue, extremely detrimental to christianity.

NOTHING is more obvious than the reasons that gave rise to this austere sect. One of the principal was, the ill-judged ambition of the christians to resemble the Greeks and Romans, many of whose sages and philosophers distinguished themselves from the generality by their maxims, by their habit, and, indeed, by the whole plan of life and manners, which they had formed to themselves, and by which they acquired a high

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P. 453

high degree of esteem and authority. It is also well known, that of all these philosophers, there were none, whose sentiments and discipline were so well received by the ancient Christians as those of the Platonics and Pythagoreans, who prescribed in their lessons *two* rules of conduct; *one* for the sage, who aspired to the sublimest heights of virtue; and *another* for the people, involved in the cares and hurry of an active life. (w) There is a particular consideration that will enable us to render a natural account of the origin of those religious severities of which we have been now speaking, and that is drawn from the genius and temper of the people by whom they were first practised. It was in *Egypt* that this morose discipline had its rise; and it is observable, that that country has, in all times, as it were by an immutable law, or disposition of nature, abounded with persons of a melancholy complexion, and produced, in proportion to its extent, more gloomy spirits than any other part of the world. (x) It was here that the Essenes and the Therapeutæ, those dismal and gloomy sects, dwelt principally long before the coming of Christ; as also many others of the Ascetic tribe, who, led by a certain melancholy turn of mind, and a delusive notion of rendering themselves more acceptable to the Deity by their austerities, withdrew themselves from human society, and from all the innocent pleasures and comforts of life. (y) From

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Egypt

(w) See *Æneas Gazeus in Theophrasti*. p. 29. edit. Barthii.

(x) See Maillet *description de l'Égypte*, tom. ii. p. 57. edit. in 4to. de Paris.

(y) Herodot. *Hist.* lib. ii. p. 104. ed. Gronov. Epiphanius, *Exposit. fidei*, f. 11. tom. ii. Opp. p. 1092. Tertullian. *de exhortatione castitatis*, cap. xiii. p. 524. edit. Priorii. Athanasius in *vita Antonii*, tom. ii. Opp. p. 453.

Egypt this four and unsociable discipline passed into Syria and the neighbouring countries, which also abounded with persons of the same dismal constitution with that of the Egyptians; (2) and from thence, in process of time, its infection reached to the European nations. Hence that train of austere and superstitious vows and rites; that yet, in many places, cast a veil over the beauty and simplicity of the Christian religion. Hence the celibacy of the priestly order, the rigour of unprofitable penances, and mortifications, the innumerable swarms of Monks that refuse their talents and labours to society, and this in the senseless pursuit of a visionary sort of perfection.

It is generally true, that delusions travel in a train, and that one mistake produces many. The Christians, who adopted the austere system, which has been already mentioned, had certainly made a very false step, and done much injury to their excellent and most reasonable religion. But they did not stop here; another erroneous practice was adopted by them, which though it was not so universal as the other, was yet extremely pernicious, and proved a source of numberless evils to the Christian church. The Platonists and Pythagoreans held it a maxim, that it was not only lawful, but even praise-worthy, to *deceive*, and even to use the expedient of a *lie*, in order to advance the cause of *truth* and *piety*. The Jews, who lived in *Egypt*, had learned and received this maxim from them, before the coming of Christ, as appears incontestably from a multitude

(2) Jo. Chardin voyages in *Perse*, tom. iv. p. 197. edit. Amst. 1735, 4to.

multitude of ancient records; and the Christians were infected from both these sources with the same pernicious error, as appears from the number of books attributed falsely to great and venerable names, from the *Sybilline verses*, and several supposititious productions, which were spread abroad in this and the following century. It indeed does not seem probable, that all these *pious frauds* were chargeable upon the profession of *real* christianity, upon those who entertained just and rational sentiments of the religion of Jesus. The greatest part of these fictitious writings undoubtedly flowed from the fertile invention of the Gnostic sects, though it cannot be affirmed that even true Christians were entirely innocent and irreproachable in this matter.

CHAP. III.

Of the Ceremonies used in the Church during this Century.

THERE is no institution so pure and excellent which the corruption and folly of men will not in time alter for the worse, and load with additions foreign to its nature and original design. Such, in a particular manner, was the fate of Christianity. In this century many unnecessary rites and ceremonies were added to the Christian worship, the introduction of which was extremely offensive to wise and good men. (a) These changes, while they destroyed the beautiful simplicity of the gospel, were naturally pleasing to the gross multitude, who are more delighted with the pomp and splendor of external institutions, than with the native charms of rational and solid piety, and who generally give little attention to any objects but those which strike their outward senses. (b) And here we may observe, in the first place, that there is a high degree of probability in the notion of those, who think that the bishops augmented the number of religious rites in the Christian worship, by way of accommodation to the infirmities and prejudices both of Jews and Heathens, in order

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(a) Tertullian *lib. de Creatione*, p. 792. Opp.

(b) It is not improper to remark here, that this attachment of the vulgar, to the pomp of ceremonies, is a circumstance that has always been favourable to the ambitious views of the Romish Clergy, since the pomp of religion naturally casts a part of its glory and magnificence upon its ministers, and thereby gives them imperceptibly, a vast ascendancy over the minds of the people.

to facilitate thus their conversion to Christianity. Both Jews and Heathens were accustomed to a vast variety of pompous and magnificent ceremonies in their religious service. And as they considered these rites as an essential part of religion, it was natural they should behold, with indifference, and even with contempt, the simplicity of the Christian worship, which was destitute of those idle ceremonies that rendered their service so specious and striking. To remove then, in some measure, this prejudice against Christianity, the bishops thought it necessary to encrease the number of rites and ceremonies, and thus to render the public worship more striking to the outward senses. (c)

THIS addition of external rites was also designed to remove the opprobrious calumnies, which the Jewish and Pagan Priests

(c) A remarkable passage in the life of Gregory, surnamed Thaumaturgus, i. e. the wonder-worker, will illustrate this point in the clearest manner. The passage is as follows: "Cum animadvertisset (Gregorius) quod ob corporeas delectationes et voluptates simplex et imperitum vulgus in Simulacrorum cultus errore permaneret—permisit eis, ut in memoriam et recordationem Sanctorum martyrum sese oblectarent, et in lætitiā effunderentur, quod successu temporis aliquando futurum esset, et sua sponte ad honestiorem et accuratiorem vitæ rationem transirent," i. e. "When Gregory perceived that the ignorant multitude persisted in their idolatry, on account of the pleasures and sensual gratifications which they enjoyed at the Pagan festivals, he granted them a permission to indulge themselves in the like pleasures in celebrating the memory of the holy martyrs, hoping, that in process of time, they would return of their own accord, to a more virtuous and regular course of life." There is no sort of doubt, but that by this permission, Gregory allowed the Christians to dance, sport, and feast, at the tombs of the martyrs, upon their respective festivals, and to do every thing which the Pagans were accustomed to do in their temples during the feasts, celebrated in honour of their Gods.

Priests cast upon the Christians, on account of the simplicity of their worship, esteeming them little better than Atheists, because they had no *temples, altars, victims, priests*, nor any thing of that external pomp in which the vulgar are so prone to place the essence of religion. The rulers of the church adopted therefore, certain external ceremonies, that thus they might captivate the senses of the vulgar, and be able to refute the reproaches of their adversaries. This, it must be confessed, was a very awkward, and, indeed, a very pernicious stratagem; it was obscuring the native lustre of the gospel, in order to extend its influence, making it lose, in point of real excellence, what it gained in point of popular esteem. Some accommodations to the infirmities of mankind, some prudent instances of condescension to their invincible prejudices, are necessary in ecclesiastical, as well as in civil institutions; but they must be of such a nature, as not to inspire ideas, or encourage prejudices incompatible with just sentiments of the great object of religious worship, and of the fundamental truths which God has imparted by reason and revelation to the human race. How far this rule has been disregarded and violated, will appear too plainly in the progress of this history.

EVERY one knows that many terms used in the New Testament, to express the different parts of the Christian doctrine and worship, are borrowed from the Jewish law, or have a certain analogy with the rites and ceremonies instituted by Moses. The Christian doctors did not only imitate this analogical manner of speaking, but they even extended it further
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than the Apostles had done. For, in process of time, many asserted, that these forms of speech were *figurative*, but highly *proper*, and exactly suitable to the nature of the things they were designed to express. The bishops by an innocent allusion to the Jewish manner of speaking, had been called *chief priests*; the *elders*, or presbyters, had received the title of *priests*; and the *deacons* that of *levites*. But, in a little time, these titles were abused by an aspiring clergy, who thought proper to claim the same rank and station, the same rights and privileges that were conferred with those titles upon the ministers of religion under the Mosaic dispensation. Hence the rise of *tithes*, *first fruits*, *splendid garments*, and many other circumstances of external grandeur, by which ecclesiastics were eminently distinguished. In like manner the comparison of the Christian *oblations*, with the Jewish *victims* and *sacrifices*, produced a multitude of unnecessary rites, and was the occasion of introducing that erroneous notion of the *eucharist*, which represents it as a real *sacrifice*, and not merely as a commemoration of that great *offering*, that was once made upon the cross for the sins of mortals. They used in that sacred institution, as also in that of baptism, several of the terms employed in the Heathen *mysteries*, and proceeded so far, at length, as even to adopt some of the rites and ceremonies of which these renowned *mysteries* consisted. (d) This imitation began in the eastern provinces; but after the time

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(d) See, for many examples of this, Isaac Casaubon, *Exercit.* xvi. in *Annales Baronii*. p. 478, 9, &c. edit. Genev. 1654. Toilius, *Insign. urinis Italici Not.* p. 151. 163. Spanheim's notes to his French translation of Julian's *Cæsars*. p. 123. 134. Clarkson on *Liturgies*, p. 36, 42, 43.

of Adrian, who first introduced the mysteries among the Latins (e), it was followed by the Christians, who dwelt in the western parts of the empire. A great part, therefore, of the service of the church, in this century, had a certain air of heathen mysteries, and resembled them considerably in many particulars.

It may be yet further observed, that the custom of teaching their religious doctrines by *images, actions, signs* and other sensible representations, which prevailed among the Egyptians, and, indeed, in almost all the Eastern nations, was another cause of the increase of external rites in the church. The first Christians assembled for the purpose of divine worship, in *private houses*, in *caves*, and in *vaults*, where the dead were buried. Their meetings were on the *first day of the week*, and, in some places, they assembled also upon the *seventh*, which was celebrated by the Jews. The hour of the day appointed for holding those religious assemblies varied according to the different times and circumstances of the church; but it was generally in the evening after sun set, or in the morning before the dawn. During these sacred meetings, prayers were repeated, the holy scriptures were publicly read, short discourses upon the duties of Christians, were addressed to the people, hymns were sung, and a portion of the *oblations*, presented by the faithful, was employed in the celebration of the Lord's supper, and the feasts of charity.

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(e) Spatian. *Hadrian* c. xiii. p. 15, edit. of Obrecht.

THE Christians of this century celebrated anniversary festivals in commemoration of the death and resurrection of Christ, and of the effusion of the Holy Ghost upon the Apostles. The day which was observed as the anniversary of Christ's death, was called the *paschal* day, or passover, because it was looked upon to be the same with that on which the Jews celebrated the feast of that name. In the manner, however, of observing this solemn day, the Christians, of the *Lesser Asia*, differed much from the rest, and in a more especial manner from those of Rome. The Asiatic Christians kept this feast on the fourteenth day of the first Jewish month, at the time that the Jews celebrated their passover, and, three days after, commemorated the resurrection of the triumphant redeemer. They affirmed, that they had derived this custom from the Apostles John and Philip, and pleaded, moreover, in its behalf, the example of Christ himself, who held his *paschal feast*, on the same day that the Jews celebrated their *passover*. The Western churches observed a different method. They celebrated their *paschal* feast on the night that preceded the anniversary of Christ's resurrection, and thus connected the commemoration of the Saviour's crucifixion, with that of his victory over death and the grave. Nor did they differ thus from the Asiatics, without alledging also apostolic authority for what they did; for they pleaded that of St. Peter and St. Paul, as a justification of their conduct in this matter. The Asiatic rule for keeping the *paschal feast*, was attended with two great inconveniencies, to which the Christians at *Alexandria* and *Rome*, and the whole Western churches, refused to submit. For, in the first place, as the

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Asiatics celebrated their festival the same day that Christ is said to have eat the paschal lamb with his disciples, this occasioned an inevitable interruption in the fast of the *great week*, which the other churches looked upon as almost criminal, at least, as highly indecent. Nor was this the only inconveniency arising from this rule; for as they celebrated the memory of Christ's resurrection, precisely the third day after their paschal supper, it happened, for the most part, that this great festival was held on other days of the week than the *first*. This circumstance was extremely displeasing to, by far, the greatest part of the Christians, who thought it unlawful to celebrate the resurrection of our Lord, on any day but *Sunday*, as that was the day on which this glorious event happened. Hence arose sharp and vehement contentions between the Asiatic and Western Christians. About the middle of this century, during the reign of Antoninus Pius, the venerable Polycarp came to *Rome* to confer with Ancietus, bishop of that see, upon this matter, with a view to terminate the warm disputes it had occasioned. But this conference, though conducted with great decency and moderation, was without effect. Polycarp and Anicetus were only agreed in this, that the bonds of charity were not to be broken on account of this controversy; but they continued, at the same time, each in their former sentiments, nor could the Asiatics be engaged by any arguments to alter the rule which they pretended to have received by tradition from St. John. (f)

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(f) Eusebius *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iv. cap. xiv. p. 127. & lib. v. cap. xxiv. p. 193.

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TOWARDS the conclusion of this century, Victor, bishop of Rome, took it into his head to force the Asiatic Christians, by the pretended authority of his laws and decrees, to follow the rule which was observed by the Western churches, in this matter. Accordingly, after having taken the advice of some foreign bishops, he wrote an imperious letter to the Asiatic prelates, commanding them to imitate the example of the Western Christians with respect to the time of celebrating the festival of Easter. The Asiatics answered this lordly summons by the pen of Polycrates, bishop of *Ephesus*, who declared in their name, and that with great spirit and resolution, that they would by no means depart, in this matter, from the custom handed down to them by their ancestors. Upon this, the thunder of excommunication began to roar. Victor, exasperated by this resolute answer of the Asiatic bishops, broke communion with them, pronounced them unworthy of the name of his brethren, and excluded them from all fellowship with the church of *Rome*. This excommunication, indeed, extended no further, nor could it cut off the Asiatic bishops from communion with the other churches, whose bishops were far from approving the conduct of Victor. (g) The progress of this violent dissension was stopped by the wise and moderate remonstrances, which Irenæus, bishop of *Lyons*, addressed to the Roman prelate upon this occasion, in which he shewed him the imprudence and injustice of the step he had taken, and also by the long letter which the Asiatic Christians wrote in

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(g) This whole affair furnishes a striking argument among the multitude that may be drawn from Ecclesiastical History, against the supremacy and universal authority of the Bishop of Rome.

their own justification. In consequence therefore of this cessation of arms, the combatants retained each their own customs, until the fourth century, when the council of Nice abolished that of the Asiatics; and rendered the time of the celebration of Easter the same through all the Christian churches.

IN these times, the sacrament of the Lord's supper was celebrated, for the most part, on Sundays, and the ceremonies observed upon that occasion were such as follow: A part of the bread and wine, which was presented among the other *oblations*, of the faithful, was separated from the rest and consecrated by the prayers of the bishop. The wine was mixed with water, and the bread was divided into several portions. A part of the consecrated bread and wine was carried to the sick or absent members of the church, as a testimony of fraternal love, sent to them by the whole society. (h)

THE sacrament of *baptism* was administered publicly twice every year, at the festivals of Easter and Pentecost, or Whitsuntide (i), either by the *bishop* or *presbyters*, in consequence of his authorization and appointment. The persons that were to be baptized, after that they had repeated the *Creed*, and renounced their sins, and particularly the *Devil*, and his pompous allurements, were immersed under water, and received into Christ's kingdom by a solemn invocation of *Father*, *Son*, and *Holy Ghost*, according to the express command of our Blessed Lord.

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(h) Henricus Rixnerus, *de ritibus veterum Christianorum circa Eucharistiam*, p. 155, &c.

(i) See Wall's *History of Infant-baptism*. And Vicecome's *de ritibus Baptismi*.

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CHAP. IV.

Concerning the Heresies and Dissentions that troubled the Church during this Century.

AMONG the many sects which divided the Christian church during this century, it is natural to mention, in the first place, that, which an attachment to the Mosaic law separated from the rest of their Christian brethren. The first rise of this sect is placed under the reign of Adrian. For, when this emperor had, at length, razed *Jerusalem*, entirely destroyed even its very foundations, and enacted laws of the severest kind against the whole body of the Jewish people; the greatest part of the Christians, who lived in *Palestine*, to prevent their being confounded with the Jews, abandoned entirely the Mosaic rites, and chose a bishop named Mark, a foreigner by nation, and consequently an alien from the common-wealth of *Israel*. This step was highly shocking to those, whose attachment to the Mosaic rites was violent and invincible; and such was the case of many. These, therefore, separated themselves from the brethren, and founded at *Pera*, a country of *Palestine*, and in the neighbouring parts, particular assemblies, in which the law of Moses maintained its primitive dignity, authority, and lustre. (k) This body of judaizing Christians, which set Christ and Moses upon an equal foot in point of authority, was afterwards divided into two sects, extremely different

(k) Vid, Sulpitius Severus, *Hist. Sacra*, lib. ii. cap. xxxi. p. 45.

ferent both in their rites and opinions, and distinguished by the names of Nazarenes and Ebionites. The former are not placed by the ancient Christians in the heretical register; (1) but the latter were considered as a sect, whose tenets were destructive of the fundamental principles of the Christian religion. These obscure and unfrequented heretical assemblies were very little detrimental to the Christian cause, which suffered much more from those sects, whose leaders explained the doctrines of Christianity in a manner conformable to the dictates of oriental philosophy concerning the origin of evil.

(1) Epiphanius was the first writer who placed the Nazarenes in the list of Heretics. He wrote in the fourth century, but is very far from being remarkable either for his fidelity or judgment.

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C H A P. I.

*Concerning the Prosperous Events that happened to the Church
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THAT the Christians suffered in this century, calamities and injuries of the most dreadful kind, is a matter that admits of no debate; nor was there, indeed, any period in which they were not exposed to perpetual dangers. For not to mention the fury of the people set in motion, so often, by the craft and zeal of their licentious priests, the evil came from

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a higher source; the prætors and magistrates, notwithstanding the ancient laws of the Emperors in favour of the Christians, had it in their power to pursue them with all sorts of vexations, as often as avarice, cruelty, or superstition roused up the infernal spirit of persecution in their breasts. At the same time it is certain, that the rights and privileges of the Christians were multiplied in this century, much more than many are apt to imagine. In the army, at the court, and indeed in all the orders of the nation, there was a considerable number of Christians, who lived entirely unmolested; and what is still more, the profession of Christianity was no obstacle to public preferment under most of the Emperors that reigned in this century.

It is also certain, that the Christians had in many places houses where they assembled for the purposes of divine worship, and that with the knowledge and connivance of the Emperors and Magistrates. And though it be more than probable, that this liberty was, upon many occasions, and even for the most part, purchased at a high rate; yet it is manifest, that some of the Emperors were very favourably inclined towards the Christians, and were far from having an aversion to their religion. (m) This clemency and benevolence, which the followers of Jesus experienced from great men, and especially from those of imperial dignity, must be placed, without doubt,

(m) Lampridius *Vita Heliogabali*, c. iii. p. 796. Lamprid. de *Vita Severi*, cap. xxix. p. 930. Vide Carol. Henr. Zeibich ii. *Diff. de Christo ab Alexandro in larario culta, quæ extat in Miscellan. Lips. nov. tom. iii. p.*

doubt, among those human means, that contributed to multiply the number of Christians, and to enlarge the bounds of the church. Other causes, however, both *divine* and *human*, must be added here to render a satisfactory account of this matter. Among the causes which belong to the first of these classes, we do not only reckon the intrinsic force of celestial truth, and the piety and fortitude of those who declared it to the world, but also that *especial* and *interposing providence* which touched the hearts of many, (who were either inattentive to the Christian doctrine, or its professed enemies), of the truth, and a sense of its importance, and engaged them, without delay to profess themselves the disciples of Christ. The number of miracles was much less in this than in the preceding century; nor must this alteration be attributed only to the divine wisdom, which rendered miraculous interpositions less frequent in proportion as they became less necessary, but also to his justice, which was provoked to diminish the frequency of gifts, which some did not scruple to pervert to mercenary purposes. (n) If we turn our view to the human means that contributed, at this time, to multiply the numbers of Christians, and to extend the limits of the church, we shall find a great variety of causes uniting their influence, and contributing jointly to this happy purpose. Among these must be reckoned the translations of the sacred writings into various languages, the zeal and labours of Origen in spreading abroad copies of them every where, and the different works that were published by learned and pious men, in defence of the gospel. We may add also to this, that the acts of beneficence and liberality,

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(n) Spencer not, in *Origen. contra Celsum*, p. 6, 7.

rality, performed by the Christians, even towards those whose religious principles they abhorred, had a great influence in attracting the esteem and removing the prejudices of many, who were thus prepared for examining, with candour, the Christian doctrine, and consequently for receiving its divine light.

C H A P. II.

Concerning the Doctors and Ministers of the Church, and its form of Government, during this Century.

THE form of Ecclesiastical Government that had been adopted by Christians in general, had now acquired greater degrees of stability and force, both in particular churches, and in the universal society of Christians collectively considered. It appears incontestable from the most authentic records, and the best histories of this century, that, in the larger cities, there was, at the head of each church, a person to whom was given the title of *Bishop*, who ruled this sacred community with a certain sort of authority, in council, however, with the body of *Presbyters*, and consulting, in matters of moment, the opinion and the voices of the whole assembly (a). It is also equally evident, that in every province, one bishop was invested with a certain superiority over

(a) A satisfactory account of this matter may be seen in Blondelli *Apologio pro Sententia Hieronymi de Episcopis et Presbyteris*, p. 136. as that author has collected all the testimonies of the ancients relative to that subject.

over the rest, in point of rank and authority. This was necessary to the maintenance of that *association* of Churches that had been introduced in the preceding century, and contributed, moreover, to facilitate the holding of *general councils*, and to give a certain degree of order and consistence to their proceedings. It must at the same time, be carefully observed that the rights and privileges of these *primitive Bishops* were not, every where, accurately fixed, nor determined in such a manner as to prevent encroachments and disputes; nor does it appear, that the chief authority, in the province, was always conferred upon that Bishop who presided over the Church established in the metropolis. It is further to be noticed, as a matter beyond all dispute, that the Bishops of *Rome*, *Antioch*, and *Alexandria*, considered as rulers of primitive and Apostolic Churches, had a kind of pre-eminence over all others, and were not only consulted frequently in affairs of a difficult and momentous nature, but were also distinguished by peculiar rights and privileges. * With respect, particularly, to the Bishop of *Rome*; he is supposed by Cyprian to have had, at this time, a certain pre-eminence in the Church (p); nor does he stand alone in this opinion. But it is to be carefully observed, that those who, with Cyprian, attributed this pre-eminence to the Roman Prelate, insisted, at the same time, with the utmost warmth upon the *equality* in point of *dignity* and authority, that subsisted among all the members of the episcopal order. In consequence of this opinion of an *equality* among all christian Bishops, they rejected, with contempt, the judgment of the Bishop

(p) Cyprian. Ep. lxxiii. p. 131. Ep. lv. p. 86. lib. *de unitate Ecclesie*, p. 195. edit. Baluzii.

shop of Rome, when they thought it ill-founded or unjust, and followed their own sense of things with a perfect independence. Of this Cyprian himself gave an eminent example in his famous controversy with Stephen Bishop of *Rome*, concerning the *baptism of hereticks*, in which he treated the arrogance of that imperious prelate with a noble indignation, and also with a perfect contempt. Whoever, therefore, compares all these things together, will easily perceive, that the *pre-eminence* of the Bishop of *Rome*, was a pre-eminence of *order* and *association* (q), and not of *power* and *authority*. Or, to explain the matter yet more clearly, the pre-eminence of the Bishop of *Rome*, in the Universal Church, was such as that of Cyprian, Bishop of *Carthage*, was in the African Churches. And every one knows that the precedence of this latter Prelate diminished, in nothing, the equality that subsisted among all the African Bishops, invalidated, in no instance, their rights and liberties, but gave only to Cyprian, as the president of their general assemblies, a power of calling councils, of presiding in them, of admonishing his brethren in a mild and fraternal manner, and of executing, in short, such offices as the *order* and purposes of these ecclesiastical meetings necessarily required (r). The face of things began now to change in the christian Church.

(q) So I have translated *Principatus ordinis et consociationis*, which could not be otherwise rendered without a long circumlocution. The *pre-eminence* here mentioned signifies the right of *convening* councils, of *presiding in them*, of *collecting voices*, and such other things as were essential to the *order* of these assemblies.

(r) See Steph. Baluzii, the LXXI LXXIII epistles of Cyprian, and the LV. addressed to Cornelius Bishop of *Rome*, in which letters the Carthaginian Prelate pleads with warmth and vehemence for the equality of all christian Bishops.

Church. The ancient method of ecclesiastical government seemed, in general, still to subsist, while at the same time, by imperceptible steps, it varied from the primitive rule, and degenerated towards the form of a religious monarchy. This change, in the form of ecclesiastical government, was soon followed by a train of vices which dishonoured the character and authority of those, to whom the administration of the Church was committed. For though several yet continued to exhibit to the world illustrious examples of primitive piety and christian virtue; yet many were sunk in luxury and voluptuousness, puffed up with vanity, arrogance, and ambition, possessed with a spirit of contention and discord, and addicted to many other vices, that cast an undeserved reproach upon the holy religion, of which they were the unworthy professors and Ministers. Marriage was permitted to all the various ranks and orders of the Clergy, high and low.

For an account of the principal writers that distinguished themselves, by their learned and pious productions, we refer our readers to those who have professedly given histories or enumerations of the christian writers.

CHAP. III.

Concerning the Doctrines of the Christian Church in this Century.

THE principal doctrines of christianity were now explained to the people in their native purity and simplicity, without any mixture of abstract reasonings or subtile inventions; nor were the feeble minds of the multitude loaded with a variety of precepts (a). But the christian Doctors, who had applied themselves to the study of letters and philosophy, soon abandoned the frequented paths, and struck out into the devous wilds of fancy. The Egyptians distinguished themselves in this new method of explaining the truth. They looked upon it as a noble and a glorious task to bring the doctrines of celestial wisdom into a certain subjection to the precepts of their philosophy; and to make deep and profound researches into the intimate and hidden nature of those truths which the divine Saviour had delivered to his Disciples. Origen was at the head of this speculative tribe. This great man, enchanted by the charms of the Platonic philosophy, set it up as the test of all religion, and imagined that the reasons of each doctrine were to be found in that favourite philosophy, and their

(a) See Origen. in *Præf. libror. de Principiis*, tom. 1. Opp. p. 49 and lib. i. *de Principiis*, cap. ii. See also Gregorii Neocæsariensis *Expositio Fidei*, p. 11. of his works according to the edition of Ger. Vossius.

their nature and extent to be determined by it (b). It must be confessed, that he handled this matter with modesty and with caution; but he still gave an example to his Disciples, the abuse of which could not fail to be pernicious, and under the authority of which they would naturally indulge themselves without restraint in every wanton fancy. And so, indeed, the case was: for the Disciples of Origen, breaking forth from the limits fixed by their master, interpreted in the most licentious manner the divine truths of religion, according to the Platonic philosophy. From these teachers the philosophical or *scholastic theology*, as it is called, derived its origin, and proceeding hence, passed through various forms and modifications according to the genius, turn, and erudition of those who embraced it.

THE same principles gave rise to another species of *theology*, which was called mystic. They denied that man could by labour or study, excite a celestial flame in their breasts, and therefore they disapproved highly of the attempts of those, who by definitions, abstract theorems, and profound speculations, endeavoured to form distinct notions of truth, and to discover its hidden nature. On the contrary, they maintained that *silence, tranquillity, repose, and solitude*, accompanied with such acts of mortification as might tend to extenuate and exhaust the body, were the *means* by which the *hidden and internal word* was *excited*, to produce its latent virtues, and to instruct men in

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(b) This is manifest from what remains of his *stromata*; as also from his books *de Principiis*, which are still preserved in a Latin translation of them by Rufinus.

the knowledge of divine things. This produced strange effects, and drove many into caves and deserts, where they macerated their bodies with hunger and thirst, and submitted to all the miseries of the severest discipline that a gloomy imagination could prescribe. They led a life more worthy of savage animals, than of rational beings. This unfociable manner of life was very common in *Egypt, Syria, India, and Mesopotamia*, not only long before this time, but even before the coming of Christ. And it is still practised among the Mahometans, as well as the christians, in those arid and burning climates (e). For the glowing atmosphere, that surrounds these countries, is a natural cause of that love of solitude and repose, of that indolent and melancholy disposition, that are remarkably common among their languid inhabitants. But let us turn from these scenes of fanaticism, which are so opprobrious to human nature, and consider some other circumstances more worthy of the christian doctrine during this century. And here it is proper to mention the useful labours of those, who manifested their zeal for the holy scriptures by the care they took to have accurate copies of them multiplied every where, and that, at such moderate prices, as rendered them of easy purchase; as also to have them translated into various languages, and published in correct editions. Many of the more opulent among the christians contributed generously a great part of their substance to the carrying on these pious and excellent undertakings. Pierius and Hesychius in *Egypt*, and Lucian at *Antioch*, employed much pains in correcting the copies of the *Septuagint*; and Pamphilus

(e) See the travels of Lucas in 1714, 2d Vol. p. 363.

lius of *Cæsarea*, laboured with great diligence and success in works of the same nature, until a glorious martyrdom finished his course.

CHAP. IV.

Concerning the Rites and Ceremonies used in the Church during this Century.

ALL the records of this century mention the multiplication of rites and ceremonies in the christian Church. Several of the causes that contributed to this have been already pointed out, to which we may add as a principal one the passion which now reigned for the Platonic philosophy, or rather, for the popular, oriental superstition concerning *Demons*, adopted by the Platonists, and borrowed, unhappily, from them by the christian Doctors. For there is not the least doubt, but that many of the rites now introduced into the Church, derived their origin from the reigning opinions concerning the nature of *Demons*, and the powers and operations of invisible beings. Hence the custom of *exorcisms* and *spells*, the frequency of *fasts*, and the aversion to *wedlock*. Hence the custom of avoiding all connections with those who were not as yet baptized, or who lay under the penalty of excommunication, as persons supposed to be under the dominion of some malignant spirit. And hence the rigour and severity of that discipline and penance

that were imposed upon those who had incurred, by their immoralities the censures of the Church (w).

WITH respect to the form of divine worship, and the times appointed for its celebration, there were little innovations made in this century. Two things, however, deserve to be taken notice of here: the first is, that the discourses or sermons, addressed to the people, were very different from those of the earlier times of the Church, and degenerated much from the ancient simplicity. The second thing worthy of notice is, that about this time, the use of *incense* was introduced, at least, into many Churches. This has been denied by some men of eminent learning; the fact, however, is rendered evident by the most unexceptionable testimonies (x).

SEVERAL alterations were now introduced, in the celebration of the Lord's Supper, by those who had the direction of divine worship. The prayers used, upon this occasion, were lengthened; and the solemnity and pomp, with which this important institution was celebrated, were considerably increased, no doubt, with a pious intention to render it still more respectable. Those who were in a *penitential state*, and those also who had not received the Sacrament of baptism, were not admitted

(w) For an ampler account of this matter, the reader may consult Porphyry's treatise concerning *abstinence*, and compare what the writer has said on this subject, with the customs received among the christians. Several curious things are also to be found in Theodoret and Eusebius upon this head.

(x) See Bishop Beverege *ad canon.* iii. Apostol. p. 461; as also another work of the same, intitled *Codex Canon. mundicatus*, p. 78.

admitted to this Holy Supper; and it is not difficult to perceive, that these exclusions were an imitation of what was practised in the heathen mysteries. We have already mentioned the principal rites that were used in the administration of baptism; and we have only to add, that none were admitted to this solemn ordinance, until, by the menacing and formidable shouts and declamation of the *exorcist*, they had been delivered, from the dominion of the prince of darkness, and consecrated to the service of God. The origin of this superstitious ceremony may be easily traced, *when we consider the prevailing opinions of the times (a). The driving out this *Demon* was now considered as an essential preparation for baptism, after the administration of which the candidates returned home adorned with crowns and arrayed in white garments as sacred emblems; the former, of their victory over sin and the world; the latter of their inward purity and innocence.

FASTING began now to be held in more esteem than it had formerly been; a high degree of sanctity was attributed to this practice, and it was even looked upon as of indispensable necessity, from a notion that the *Demons* directed their stratagems

(a) It is demonstrably evident, that *exorcism* was added to the other baptismal rites in the third century, after the introduction of the Platonic philosophy into the Church. For, before this time, we hear no mention made of it. Justin Martyr, in his *second apology*, and Tertullian in his book concerning the *military crown*, gives us an account of the ceremonies used in baptism during the second century, without any mention of *exorcism*. This is a strong argument of its being posterior to these great men; and is every way proper to persuade us, that it made its entrance into the christian Church in the third century, and probably first in Egypt.

gems principally against those who pampered themselves with delicious fare, and were less troublesome to the lean and the hungry, who lived under the severities of a rigorous abstinence (b). The Latins, contrary to the general custom, fasted the seventh day of the week ; and as the Greeks and Orientalists refused to follow their example here, this afforded a new subject of contention between them.

(b) Clementin. *Hemil.* ix. § 9, p. 618. Porphy. *de abstinencia* lib. iv. p. 417.

THE

FOURTH CENTURY.

CHAP. I.

The State of Learning among the Christians.

FROM the time of Constantine the Great, the christians applied themselves with more zeal and diligence to the study of philosophy and of the liberal arts, than they had formerly done. The emperors encouraged this taste for the sciences, and left no means unemployed to excite and maintain a spirit of literary emulation among the professors of Christianity.

For

For this purpose, schools were established in many cities. Libraries were also erected, and men of learning and genius were nobly recompensed by the honours and advantages that were attached to the culture of the sciences and arts (e). All this was indispensably necessary to the successful execution of the scheme that was laid for abrogating, by degrees, the worship of the Gods. For the ancient religion was maintained, and its credit supported by the erudition and talents, which distinguished in so many places the sages of paganism. And there was just reason to apprehend that the truth might suffer, if the christian youth, for want of proper masters and instructors of their own religion, should have recourse, for their education, to the schools of the Pagan philosophers and rhetoricians.

FROM what has been here said concerning the state of learning among the christians, we would not have any conclude, that an acquaintance with the sciences was become universal in the Church of Christ. For, as yet, there was no law enacted, which excluded the ignorant and illiterate from ecclesiastical preferments and offices, and it is certain, that the greatest part, both of the Bishops and Presbyters, were men entirely destitute of all learning and education. Besides, that savage and illiterate party, who looked upon all sorts of erudition, particularly that of a philosophical kind, as pernicious and even destructive to true piety and religion, increased both in number and authority. The Ascetics, Monks, and Hermits augmented

(e) See Godofred, *ad Codicis Theodos. titulos. de professoribus et artibus liberalibus*. Franc. Balduinus in *Constantino*. M. p. 122 Herm. Conringii *disert. de studiis Romæ et Constantinop.* at the end of his *Antiquitates Academicæ*.

ed the strength of this barbarous faction; and not only the women, but also all who took solemn looks, sordid garments, and a love of solitude for real piety (and in this number we comprehend the generality of mankind) were vehemently prepossessed in their favour.

CHAP. II.

Concerning the Government of the Church, during this Century.

CONSTANTINE the Great, made no essential alterations in the form of government that took place in the christian Church before his time; he only corrected it in some particulars, and gave it a greater extent. For, though he permitted the Church to remain a body-politic distinct from that of the state, as it had formerly been, yet he assumed to himself the supreme power over this sacred body, and the right of modelling and governing it in such a manner, as should be most conducive to the public good. The Bishop governed the Church, and managed the ecclesiastical affairs of the City or district, where he presided, in council with the Presbyters, and with a due regard to the suffrages of the whole assembly of the people. The provincial Bishops, assembled in council, deliberated together concerning those matters that related to the interests of the Churches of a whole province,

as also concerning religious controversies, the forms and rites of divine service, and other things of like moment. To these lesser councils, which were composed of the ecclesiastical deputies of one or more Provinces, were afterwards added *æcumenical councils*, consisting of commissioners from all the Churches in the christian world, and which, consequently, represented the Church universal. These were established by the authority of the Emperor, who assembled the first of these universal councils at *Nice*. There were, never, indeed, any councils held which could, with strict propriety, be called *universal*; those however, whose laws and decrees were approved and admitted by the universal Church, or the greatest part of that sacred body, are commonly called *æcumenical* or *general* councils.

THE rights and privileges of the several ecclesiastical orders were, however, gradually changed, and diminished from the time that the Church began to be torn with divisions, and agitated with those violent dissensions and tumults, to which the elections of Bishops, the diversity of religious opinions, and other things of a like nature too frequently gave rise. In these religious quarrels, the weaker generally fled to the court for protection and succour; and thereby furnished the Emperors with a favourable opportunity of setting limits to the power of the Bishops, of infringing the liberties of the people, and of modifying, in various ways, the ancient customs according to their pleasure. And indeed, even the Bishops themselves, whose opulence and authority were considerably increased since the reign of Constantine, began to introduce, gradually,
innovations

innovations in the forms of ecclesiastical discipline, and to change the ancient government of the Church. Their first step was an entire exclusion of the people from all part in the administration of ecclesiastical affairs; and afterwards they, by degrees, divested even the *Presbyters* of their ancient privileges and their primitive authority, that they might have no importunate Protesters to controul their ambition, or oppose their proceedings; and, principally, that they might either engross to themselves or distribute, as they thought proper, the possessions and revenues of the Church. Hence it came to pass, that at the conclusion of this century, there remained no more than a mere shadow of the ancient government of the Church.

In the Episcopal Order, the Bishop of *Rome* was the first in rank, and was distinguished by a sort of pre-eminence over all other prelates. Prejudices, arising from a great variety of causes, contributed to establish this superiority; but it was chiefly owing to certain circumstances of grandeur and opulence, by which mortals, for the most part, form their ideas of pre-eminence and dignity, and which they generally confound with the reasons of a just and legal authority. The Bishop of *Rome* surpassed all his brethren in the magnificence and splendor of the church over which he presided; in the riches of his revenues and possessions; in the number and variety of his ministers; in his credit with the people; and in his sumptuous and splendid manner of living. (k) These dazzling marks of human power, these ambiguous proofs of

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(k) Ammianus Marcellinus gives a striking description of the luxury in which the bishops of *Rome* lived, *Hist. lib. xxvii. cap. iii. p. 337.*

true greatness and felicity, had such a mighty influence upon the minds of the multitude, that the See of *Rome* became, in this century, a most seducing object of sacerdotal ambition. Hence it happened, that when a new Pontiff was to be elected by the suffrages of the Presbyters and the People, the city of *Rome* was generally agitated with dissensions, tumults, and cabals, whose consequences were deplorable and fatal. The intrigues and disturbances that prevailed in that city in the year 366, upon the death of Liberius, are a sufficient proof of what we have now advanced. Upon this occasion, one faction elected Damasus to that high dignity, while the opposite party chose Ursicinus, a Deacon of the vacant Church, to succeed Liberius. This double election gave rise to a dangerous schism, and to a sort of civil war within the city of *Rome*, which was carried on with the utmost barbarity and fury, and produced the most cruel massacres and desolations. This inhuman contest ended in the victory of Damasus; but whether his cause was more just than that of Ursicinus, is a question not so easy to determine. (1) Neither of the two, indeed, seem to have been possessed of such principles as constitute a good Christian, much less of that exemplary virtue, that should distinguish a Christian Bishop.

NOTWITHSTANDING the pomp and splendor that surrounded the Roman See, it is, however, certain, that the Bishops of that city had not acquired, in this century, that pre-eminence
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(1) Among the other writers of the Papal History, see Eower's History of the Popes, vol. i. p. 180, 181, 182.

of power and jurisdiction in the church they afterwards enjoyed. In the Ecclesiastical Commonwealth, they were indeed the most eminent order of citizens; but still they were citizens as well as their brethren, and subject, like them, to the edicts and laws of the Emperors. All religious causes of extraordinary importance were examined and determined, either by judges appointed by the Emperors, or in councils assembled for that purpose, while those of inferior moment were decided in each district, by its respective Bishop. The Ecclesiastical laws were enacted either by the Emperor or by Councils. None of the Bishops acknowledged, that they derived their authority from the permission and appointment of the Bishop of *Rome*, or that they were created Bishops by the *favour of the Apostolic See*. On the contrary, they all maintained that they were the Ambassadors and Ministers of Jesus Christ, and that their authority was derived from above. (m)

CONSTANTINE the Great, by removing the seat of the empire to *Byzantium*, and building the city of *Constantinople*, raised up, in the Bishop of this new metropolis, a formidable rival to the Roman Pontiff, and a bulwark which menaced a vigorous opposition to his growing authority. For as the emperor, in order to render *Constantinople* a second *Rome*, enriched it with all the rights and privileges, honours and ornaments of the ancient capital of the world; so its bishop measuring his own dignity and rank by the magnificence of the

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(m) Those who desire an ampler account of this matter, may consult Petr. de Marca, *de concordia Sacerdotii, et imperii*. Du Pin, *de antiqua ecclesiæ Disciplina*; and the very learned and judicious work of Blondel, *de la Primauté dans l'Eglise*.

new city, and its eminence, as the august residence of the Emperor, assumed an equal degree of dignity with the Bishop of *Rome*, and claimed a superiority over all the rest of the Episcopal Order. Nor did the Emperors disapprove of these high pretensions, since they considered their own dignity as connected in a certain measure with that of the Bishop of their imperial city. Accordingly, in a council held at *Constantinople*, in the year 381, by the authority of Theodosius the Great, the bishop of that city was, during the absence of the Bishop of *Alexandria*, and against the consent of the Roman Prelate, placed, by the third *Canon* of that council, in the first rank after the Bishop of *Rome*, and, consequently, above those of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*. Nestarius was the first Bishop who enjoyed these new honours accumulated upon the See of *Constantinople*.

THIS sudden revolution in the Ecclesiastical Government, and this unexpected promotion of the Bishop of *Byzantium* to a higher rank, to the detriment of other Prelates of the first eminence in the Church, were productive of the most disagreeable effects. For this promotion not only filled the bishops of *Alexandria* with the bitterest aversion to those of *Constantinople*, but also excited those deplorable contentions and disputes between these latter and Roman Pontiffs, which were carried on for many ages, with such various success, and concluded, at length, in the entire separation of the Latin and Greek Church.

C H A P. III.

Concerning the Doctrine of the Christian Church in this Century.

THE fundamental principles of the Christian Doctrine were preserved hitherto uncorrupted and entire in most Churches, though it must be confessed that they were often explained and defended in a manner that discovered the greatest ignorance and an utter confusion of ideas. The disputes carried on in the Council of *Nice*, concerning the three persons in the God-head, afford a remarkable example of this, particularly in the language and explanations of those who approved of the decisions of that council. So little light, precision, and order reigned in their discourses, that they appeared to substitute three Gods in the place of one. Nor did the evil end here; for those vain fictions, which an attachment to the Platonic philosophy, and to popular opinions, had engaged the greatest part of the Christian doctors to adopt, before the time of Constantine, were now confirmed, enlarged, and embellished in various ways. From hence arose that extravagant veneration for departed Saints, and those absurd notions of a certain *fire* destined to purify separate souls, that now prevailed, and of which the public marks were every where to be seen. Hence also the celibacy of the Priests, the worship of images and relicks, which in process of time, almost utterly destroyed the Christian Religion, or, at least, eclipsed its lustre,

lustre, and corrupted its very essence in the most deplorable manner.

AN enormous train of different superstitions were gradually substituted in the place of true religion and genuine piety. This odious revolution was owing to a variety of causes. A ridiculous precipitation in receiving new opinions, a preposterous desire of imitating the Pagan rites, and of blending them with the christian worship, and that idle propensity which the generality of mankind have towards a gaudy and ostentatious religion, all contributed to establish the reign of superstition upon the ruins of christianity. Accordingly, frequent pilgrimages were undertaken to *Palestine*, and to the tombs of the Martyrs, as if there alone the sacred principles of virtue, and the certain hope of salvation were to be acquired (q). The reins being once let loose to superstition, which knows no bounds, absurd notions and idle ceremonies multiplied every day. Quantities of dust and earth brought from *Palestine*, and other places remarkable for their supposed sanctity, were handed about as the most powerful remedies against the violence of wicked spirits, and were sold and bought every where at enormous prices (r). The public processions and supplications, by which the Pagans endeavoured to appease their Gods, were now adopted into the christian worship,

(q) See Gregor. Nysseni, Orat. ad eos qui Hierosolymam adeunt. tom. iii. Opp. p. 568. Hieronymus, Epist. xiii. ad Paulinum de instituto Monachi, tom. i. p. 66. Jac. Godofred. ad Codicem Theodosian. tom. vi. p. 65. Petri Wesselingii, dissertat. de causis peregrinat. Hierosolymit. quam Itineraria Burdigalensi præmisit, inter vetera Romanor. Itineraria, p. 537.

(r) Augustinus, De civitate Dei, lib. xxii. Cap. viii. f. 6.

worship, and celebrated with great pomp and magnificence in several places. The virtues that had formerly been ascribed to the heathen temples, to their lustrations, to the statues of their Gods and Heroes, were now attributed to christian Churches, to water consecrated by certain forms of prayer, and to the images of holy men. And the same privileges, that the former enjoyed under the darkness of paganism were conferred upon the latter under the light of the Gospel, or, rather, under that cloud of superstition that was obscuring its glory. It is true that, as yet, images were not very common; nor were there any statues at all. But it is, at the same time, as undoubtedly certain, as it is extravagant and monstrous, that the worship of the *Martyrs* was modelled, by degrees, according to the religious services that were paid to the Gods before the coming of Christ (s). From these facts, which are but small specimens of the state of christianity at this time, the discerning reader will easily perceive what detriment the Church received from the peace and prosperity procured by Constantine, and from the imprudent methods employed to allure the different nations to embrace the Gospel. The brevity we have proposed to observe in this work, prevents our entering into an ample detail of the dismal effects, which arose from the progress and the baneful influence of superstition, now become universal.

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(s) For a full account of this matter, see Beausobre, *Hist. de manichéisme*, tom. ii. p. 642.

THIS, indeed, among other unhappy effects, opened a wide door to the endless frauds of those odious impostors, who were so far destitute of all principle, as to enrich themselves by the ignorance and errors of the people. Rumours were artfully spread abroad of prodigies and miracles to be seen in certain places (a trick often practised by the heathen Priests) and the design of these reports was to draw the populace, in multitudes, to these places, and to impose upon their credulity. These stratagems were generally successful; for the ignorance and slowness of apprehension of the people, to whom every thing, that is new and singular, appears miraculous, rendered them easily the dupes of this abominable artifice (t). Nor was this all: certain tombs were falsely given out for the Sepulchres of Saints (u) and confessors; the list of the Saints was augmented with fictitious names, and even robbers were converted into Martyrs (w). Some buried the bones of dead men in certain places, and then affirmed, that they were divinely admonished, by a dream, that the body of some friend of God lay there (x). Many, especially of the Monks, travelled through the different Provinces; and not only sold, with the most frontless impudence, their fictitious relicks, but also deceived the eyes of the multitude with ludicrous combats,

(t) Henry. Dogwell, *dissert.* ii, in *Irenæum*, f. 56. p. 196. Le Clerc in his Appendix *Augustiniano*, p. 492, 550, 575.

(u) *Concil. Carthag.* v. Canon xiv. tom. i. *Counciliæ*, p. 988. edit. Harduini.

(w) Sulpitius Severus, de vita S. Martini, cap. viii.

(x) Augustin, *Sermone*, cccxviii. f. i, tom. v, Opp. 886. edit. Antwerp.

(y) See *Menachen. Rusticum.*

bats, with evil spirits or genii (y). A whole volume would be requisite to contain an enumeration of the various frauds, which artful knaves practised, with success, to delude the ignorant, when true religion was almost entirely superseded by horrid superstition.

IF the enthusiastic frenzy of the Monks exaggerated, in a manner pernicious to the interests of morality the discipline that is obligatory upon Christians; the interests of virtue and true religion suffered yet more grievously by two monstrous errors which were almost universally adopted in this century, and became a source of innumerable calamities and mischiefs in the succeeding ages. The first of these maxims was, that *it was an act of virtue, to deceive and lye, when by that means the interests of the Church might be promoted*; and the second equally horrible, though in another point of view, was, that *errors in religion, when maintained and adhered to after proper admonition, were punishable with civil penalties and corporal tortures*. The former of these erroneous maxims was now of a long standing; it had been adopted for some ages past, and had produced an incredible number of ridiculous fables, fictitious prodigies, and pious frauds, to the unspeakable detriment of that glorious cause, in which they were employed. And it must be frankly confessed, that the greatest men, and most eminent Saints of this century, were more or less tainted with the infection of this corrupt principle, as

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(y) See Godofred. *ad cod. Theod.* tom. iii. p. 172. Augustin. *de opera Monachon.* cap. xxviii. f. 36. p. 364. tom. vi. Opp. Hieronym. *Epist. Rusticum.* tom. i. Opp. p. 45.

will appear evidently to such as look with an attentive eye into their writings and their actions. The other maxim, relating to the justice and expediency of punishing error, was introduced with those serene and peaceful times which the accession of Constantine to the imperial throne procured to the Church. It was from that period approved by many, enforced by several examples during the contests that arose with the Priscillianists and Donatists, confirmed and established by the authority of Augustin, and thus transmitted to the following ages.

WHEN we cast an eye towards the lives and morals of Christians at this time, we find, as formerly, a mixture of good and evil; some eminent for their piety, others infamous for their crimes. The number, however, of immoral and unworthy Christians began so to increase, that the examples of real piety and virtue became extremely rare. When the terrors of persecution were totally dispelled; when the Church, secured from the efforts of its enemies, enjoyed the sweets of prosperity and peace; when the most of the Bishops exhibited to their flock the contagious examples of arrogance, luxury, effeminacy, animosity, and strife, with other vices too numerous to mention; when the inferior Rulers and Doctors of the Church fell into a slothful and opprobrious negligence of the duties of their respective stations, and employed, in vain wranglings and idle disputes, that zeal and attention, that were due to the culture of piety and to the instruction of their people; and when (to compleat the enormity of this horrid detail) multitudes were drawn into the profession of Christia-

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nity, not by the power of conviction and argument, but by the prospect of gain and the fear of punishment, then it was, indeed, no wonder that the Church was contaminated with shoals of profligate Christians, and that the virtuous few were, in a manner, oppressed and over-whelmed with the superior numbers of the wicked and licentious. It is true, that the same rigorous penitence which had taken place before Constantine the Great, continued now in full force against flagrant transgressors; but when the reign of corruption becomes universal the vigour of the laws yields to its sway, and a weak execution defeats the purposes of the most salutary discipline. Such was now unhappily the case: the age was sinking daily from one period of corruption to another; the great and the powerful sinned with impunity; and the obscure and the indigent felt alone the severity of the laws.

ABOUT this time *Ærius*, a Presbyter, Monk, and Semi-arian, erected a new sect, and excited divisions throughout *Armenia*, *Pontus*, and *Cappadocia*, by propagating opinions different from those that were commonly received. One of his principal tenets was, that Bishops were not distinguished from Presbyters by any divine right; but that according to the institutions of the New Testament, their offices and authority were absolutely the same. How far *Ærius* pursued this opinion, through its natural consequences, is not certainly known; but we know, with the utmost certainty, that it was highly agreeable to many good Christians, who were no longer able to bear the tyranny and arrogance of the Bishops of this century.

T H E R E

THERE were other things in which Ærius differed from the common notions of the time: he condemned prayers for the dead, stated fasts, the celebration of Easter, and other rites of that nature, in which the multitude erroneously imagined that the life and soul of religion consists (f). His great purpose seems to have been that of reducing Christianity to its primitive simplicity: a purpose indeed, laudable and noble when considered in itself; though the principles from whence it springs, and the means by which it is executed, are generally, in many respects, worthy of censure, and may have been so in the case of this reformer (g).

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(f) Epiphanius. *Hæres.* lxxv. p. 905. Augustin *de hæres.* cap. liii.

(g) The desire of reducing religious worship to the greatest possible simplicity, however rational it may appear in itself, and abstractedly considered, will be considerably moderated in such as bestow a moment's attention upon the imperfection and infirmities of human nature in its present state. Mankind, generally speaking, have too little elevation of mind to be much affected with those forms and methods of worship, in which there is nothing striking to the outward senses. The great difficulty here lies in determining the lengths, which it is prudent to go in the accommodation of religious ceremonies to human infirmity, and the grand point, is to fix a medium, without violating the dictates of right reason, or tarnishing the purity of true religion. It has been said, that the Romish Church has gone too far in its condescension to the infirmities of mankind. And this is what the ablest defenders of its motley worship have alleged in its behalf. But this observation is not just: the Church of Rome has not so much accommodated itself to human weakness, as it has abused that weakness, by taking occasion from it to establish an endless variety of ridiculous ce-

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THE progress of superstition in this century, and the erroneous notion that prevailed concerning the true nature of religion, excited the zeal and the efforts of many to stem the torrent. But their labours only exposed them to infamy and reproach. The most eminent of these worthy opposers of the reigning superstitions was Jovinian, an Italian Monk, who, towards the conclusion of this century, taught first at *Rome*, and afterwards at *Milan*, that all those who kept the vows they made to Christ at their baptism, and lived according to those rules of piety and virtue laid down in the Gospel, had an equal title to the reward of futurity; and that consequently, those who passed their days in unsociable celibacy, and severe mortifications and fastings, were, in no respect, more acceptable in the eye of God, than those who lived virtuously in the bonds of marriage, and nourished their bodies with moderation and temperance. These judicious opinions, which many began to adopt, were first condemned by the Church of *Rome*, and afterwards, by Ambrose, in a council held at *Milan* in the year 390 (b). [At this day, it is asserted, by Papists, that such opinions were not heard of in the Church, before

remonies, destructive of true religion, and only adapted to promote the riches and despotism of the Clergy, and to keep the multitude still hood-winked in their ignorance and superstition. How far a just antipathy to the Church puppet-shows of the Priests has unjustly driven some Protestant Churches into the opposite extreme, is a matter that I shall not now examine, though it certainly deserves a serious consideration.

(b) Hieronymus in *Jovinianum*, tom. ii. Opp. Augustin *de bates*, cap. lxxxii. Ambros. Epist. vi, &c.

before Luther; this is a direct confutation of such assertion.] The emperor Honorius seconded the authoritative proceedings of the Bishops by the violence of the secular arm, answered the judicious reasonings of Jovinian by the terror of coercive and penal laws, and banished this pretended heretic to the Island Boa.

CHAP. IV.

Concerning the Rites and Ceremonies used in the Church during this Century.

WHILE the Roman Emperors were studious to promote the honour of Christianity, by the auspicious protection they afforded to the Church, and their most zealous efforts to advance its interests; the inconsiderate and ill directed piety of the Bishops cast a cloud over the beauty and simplicity of the Gospel, by the prodigious number of rites and ceremonies which they had invented to embellish it. And here we may apply that well-known saying of Augustine (c), that *the yoke under which the Jews formerly groaned, was more tolerable than that imposed upon many Christians in his time.* The rites and institutions, by which the Greeks, Romans, and other nations had formerly testified their religious veneration for

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(c) Augustin, Epist. cxix, *ad Januarium*, according to the ancient division.

fictitious deities, were now adopted, with some slight alterations, by Christian Bishops, and employed in the service of the true God. We have already mentioned the reasons alleged for this imitation, so proper to disgust all who have a just sense of the native beauty of genuine Christianity. These fervent heralds of the Gospel, whose zeal out-ran their candour and ingenuity, imagined that the nations would receive Christianity with more facility, when they saw the rites and ceremonies to which they were accustomed, adopted in the Church, and the same worship paid to Christ and his Martyrs, which they had formerly offered to their idle deities. Hence it happened, that in these times the religion of the Greeks and Romans differed very little in its external appearance from that of the Christians. They had both a most pompous and splendid ritual. Gorgeous robes, mitres, tiaras, wax-tapers, crofters (d), processions (e), lustrations, images, gold and silver vases, and many such circumstances of pageantry were equally to be seen in the Heathen temples and the Christian Churches.

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No

(d) The *Lituus*, which, among the ancient Romans, was the chief Ensign of the Augurs, and which derived its name from its resemblance of the *military trumpet*, became a mark of episcopal dignity. We call it the *crozier*, or Bishop's-staff.

(e) The word *supplicationes*, which I have rendered by that of *processions*, signified, among the Pagans, those solemn and public acts of *gratitude* for national blessings, or *deprecation* of national calamities, which were expressed by the whole body of the people by a religious approach to the temples of the Gods, which by a decree of the senate, were open for all without distinction. See Cic. Catil. iii. 6. liv. x. 25.

No sooner had Constantine the Great abolished the superstitions of his ancestors, than magnificent churches were every where erected for the Christians, which were richly adorned with pictures and images, and bore a striking resemblance of the Pagan temples, both in their outward and inward form. (f) Of these churches some were built over the tombs of Martyrs, and were frequented only at stated times; while others were set apart for the ordinary assemblies of Christians in divine worship. The former were called Martyria, from the places where they were erected; and the latter Tituli. (g) Both of them were consecrated with great pomp, and with certain rites borrowed, mostly from the ancient laws of the Roman Pontiffs.

BUT our wonder will not cease here; it will rather be augmented when we learn, that, at this time, it was looked upon as an essential part of religion to have, in every country,
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(f) See Ezek. Spanheim, *Preuves sur les Césars de Julien* and particularly Le Brun's *Explication littéraire et Historique des Cérémonies de la Messe*, tom. ii. p. 10. A description of these churches may be found in Eusebius, *de vita Constantini* M. lib. iii. cap. xxxv. and an exact plan of the interior structure of them is accurately engraved in Bishop Beverege's *Annotiones in Pandectas Canonum*, tom. ii. p. 70. and in Frederick Spanheim's *Institut. Hist. Eccles.* tom. 1. Opp. p. 360.—It must also be observed, that certain parts of the Christian Churches were formed after the model of the Jewish temples. See Camp. Vitringa, *de Synagoga veteri*, lib. iii. p. 466.

(g) Jo Mabillon, *Musei Italici*, tom. ii. in *Comment. ad ordin. Roman.* p. xvi. The *Tituli* were the smaller churches, so called from this circumstance, that the Presbyters, who officiated in them, were called by the name of the places where they were erected, i. e. received titles, which fixed them to those particular cures,

a multitude of churches; and hence the true and only origin of what is called the *rights of patronage*, which was introduced among Christians with no other view than to encourage the opulent to erect a great number of Churches, by giving them the privilege of appointing the Ministers that were to officiate in them. (h) This was a new instance of that servile imitation of the ancient superstitions which reigned at this time, for it was a very common notion among the people of old, that nations and provinces were happy and free from danger, in proportion to the number of fanes and temples, which they consecrated to the worship of Gods and Heroes, whose protection and succour could not fail, as it was thought, to be shed abundantly upon those who worshipped them with such zeal, and honoured them with so many marks of veneration and respect. The Christians unhappily contracted the same erroneous way of thinking. The greater the number of temples was, which they erected in honour of Christ, and his chosen friends and followers, the more sanguine did their expectations grow of powerful succours from them, and of a peculiar interest in the divine protection. They were so weak as to imagine, that God, Christ, and celestial intelligences were delighted with those marks and testimonies of respect, which captivate the hearts of wretched mortals.

THE Christian worship consisted in hymns, prayers, the reading of the scriptures, a discourse addressed to the people,

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and

(h) Just. Henn. Bohmeri *Jur. Eccles. Protestant.* tom. iii. p. 466. *Bibliothèque Italique*, tom. v. p. 166.

and concluded with the celebration of the Lord's Supper. [How very different the Christian worship in the Popish Mass at this day, all the world is a judge.] To these were added, various rites, more adapted to please the eyes, and strike the imagination, than to kindle in the heart the pure and sacred flame of genuine piety. (i) We are not, however, to think, that the same method of worship was uniformly followed in every Christian society, for this was far from being the case. Every Bishop consulting his own private judgment, and taking into consideration the nature of the times, the genius of the country in which he was appointed to rule and instruct, formed such a plan of divine worship as he thought the wisest and the best. Hence that variety of *liturgies* which were in use, before the Bishop of Rome had usurped the supreme power in religious matters, and persuaded the credulous and unthinking, that the model both of doctrine and worship was to be given by the Mother-church, and to be followed implicitly throughout the Christian world.

It would be almost endless to enter into a minute detail of all the different parts of public worship, and to point out the disadvantageous changes they underwent. A few observations will be sufficient upon this head. The public prayers had

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(i) For a full account of the form of public worship, or the *liturgia* of this century, the reader will do well to consult the 22d *catechetical discourse* of Cyril of Jerusalem, and the *apostolical constitutions*, which are falsely attributed to Clement of Rome. These writers are most learnedly illustrated and explained by Peter le Brun, in his *Explication littérale et historique de la Messe*, tom. ii. p. 53.

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now lost much of that solemn and majestic simplicity, that characterised them in the primitive times, and which were, at present, degenerating into a vain and swelling bombast. The sermons, or public discourses addressed to the people, were composed according to the rules of human eloquence, and rather adapted to excite the stupid admiration of the populace, who delighted in vain embellishments, than to enlighten the understanding, or to reform the heart. Nay, it would seem as if all possible means had been industriously used, to give an air of folly and extravagance to the Christian assemblies. For the people were permitted, nay, even exhorted by the preacher himself, to crown his talents with clapping of hands and loud acclamations of applause; (k) a recompense that was hitherto peculiar to the actors on the theatre, and the orators in the Forum. How men set apart by their profession to exhibit examples of the contempt of vain glory, and to demonstrate to others the vanity and emptiness of all temporal things, could indulge such a senseless and indecent ambition, is difficult to be conceived, though it is highly to be deplored.

THE first day of the week, which was the ordinary and stated time for the public assemblies of Christians, was in consequence of a peculiar law enacted by Constantine, observed with more solemnity than it had formerly been. (l)

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(k) Franc. Bernh. Ferrarius, *de veterum acclamationibus et plausu*, p. 66.

(l) Jac. Godofred, *ad codicem Theodos.* tom. i. p. 135.

The festivals celebrated, in most of the Christian Churches were five in number, and were appointed in commemoration of the birth, the sufferings and death, the resurrection, and the ascension of the divine Saviour; and also of the effusion of the Holy Ghost upon the Apostles and first Heralds of the Gospel on the day of Pentecost. Of these festivals, none were kept with so much solemnity and respect, as the xiv days that were appointed for the commemoration of Christ's resurrection. (m)

THE Eastern Christians celebrated the memory of Christ's birth and baptism in one festival, which was fixed on the 6th of January, and this day was by them called the *Epiphany*, as on it the immortal Saviour was manifested to the world. (n) On the other hand, the Christians of the West seem to have always celebrated the birth of our Lord on the 25th of December: for there appears to be very little certainty in the accounts of those, who allege that the Roman Pontiff, Julius the 1st. removed the festival of Christ's birth from the 6th of January to the 25th of December. (o)

THE unlucky success which some had in discovering the carcases and remains of certain holy men, multiplied the *festivals and commemorations of the Martyrs* in the most extravagant manner.

(m) Godofred, *ad codicem Theodos.* tom. i. p. 143.

(n) Beaufobre, *Hist. de Manicheisme*, tom. ii. p. 693.

(o) See Jos. Sim. Assemann, *Biblioth. Orient. Clement. Vatican.* tom. ii. p. 164. Alph. des Vignoles, *diff. dans la Bibliothèque Germanique*, tom. ii. p. 29.

manner. The increase of these festivals would not have been offensive to the wise and the good, if Christians had employed the time they took up, in promoting their spiritual interests, and in forming habits of sanctity and virtue. But the contrary happened: these days, which were set apart for pious exercises, were squandered away in indolence, voluptuousness and criminal pursuits, and were less consecrated to the service of God, than employed in the indulgence of sinful passions. It is well known, among other things, what opportunities of sinning were offered to the licentious, by what was called the vigils of Easter and Whitsuntide, or Pentecost.

FASTING was considered in this century as the most effectual and powerful means of repelling the force, and disconcerting the stratagems of evil spirits, and of appeasing the anger of an offended Deity. Hence we may easily understand what induced the rulers of the Church to establish this custom by express laws, and to impose, as an indispensable duty, an act of humiliation; the observation of which had hitherto been left to every one's choice. The *Quadragesimal*, or *Lent Fast*, was held more sacred than all the rest, though it was not as yet confined to a fixt number of days. (p) We must however remark, that the *fasts* observed in this century were very different from those that were solemnized in the preceding times. Formerly those, who submitted themselves to the discipline of fasting, abstained wholly from meat and drink; but now a mere abstinence from flesh and wine was, by many, judged

(p) Jo. Dallæus, de *Jejuniis et Quadragesima*, lib. iv.

judged sufficient for the purposes of fasting (q), and this latter opinion prevailed from this time, and became universal among the Latins.

BAPTISMAL fonts were now erected in the porch of each church, for the more commodious administration of that initiating sacrament. In some places *salt* was employed, as a symbol of purity and wisdom, and was thrown, with this view, into the mouth of the person baptized; and the persons who were admitted into the Church by Baptism, were obliged, after the celebration of that holy ordinance, to go clothed in white garments during the space of seven days.

THE institution of *catechumens*, and the discipline through which they passed, suffered no variation in this century, but continued still upon its ancient footing. It appears farther, by innumerable testimonies, that the Lord's Supper was administered (in some places two or three times a week, in others on Sunday only) to all those who were assembled together to worship God. It was also sometimes celebrated at the tombs of Martyrs, and at funerals, which custom, undoubtedly, gave rise to the *Masses* that were afterwards performed in honour of the Saints, and for the benefit of the dead. In many places, the bread and wine were held up to view

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(q) See Barbeyrac, de la Morale des Peres, p. 250.

before their distribution, that they might be seen by the people, and contemplated with a certain religious respect; and hence, not long after, the *adoration of the Symbols* was unquestionably derived.

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THE
FIFTH CENTURY.

THE
EXTERNAL HISTORY
OF THE
CHURCH.

CHAP. I.

*Concerning the Prosperous Events that happened to the
Church.*

IT must be acknowledged, that the Christian Emperors, especially those in the East, were active and assiduous in extirpating the remains of the ancient superstitions. Theodosius

the younger, distinguished himself in this pious and noble work, and many remarkable monuments of his zeal in this matter are still preserved (r); such as the laws which enjoined either the destruction of the Heathen temples, or the dedication of them to Christ and his Saints; the edicts by which he abrogated the sacrilegious rites and ceremonies of Paganism; and removed from all offices and employments in the state such as persevered in their attachment to the absurdities of Polytheism.

THIS spirit of reformation appeared with less vigour in the Western empire. There the feasts of Saturn and Pan, the combats of the gladiators and other rites that were instituted in honour of the Pagan deities, were celebrated with the utmost freedom and impunity; and persons of the highest rank and authority professed publicly the religion of their idolatrous ancestors. (s) This liberty was, however, from time to time reduced within narrower limits, and all those public sports and festivals, that were more particularly incompatible with the genius and sanctity of the Christian religion, were every where abolished. (t)

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(r) See the *Theodosian Code*, tom. vi. p. 327.

(s) See the *Saturnalia* of Macrobius, lib. i. p. 190. edit. Gronov. Scipio Maffei *dell' Anfiteatri*. lib. i. p. 56, 57. Pierre le Brun, *Hist. Critique des pratiques superstitieuses*, tom. i. p. 237. And above all Montfaucon, *Diff. de moribus tempore Theodosii M. et Arcadii*, which is to be found in Latin, in the xith volume of the works of St. Chrysostom, and in French, in the xxth volume of the *Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres*, p. 197.

(t) Anastasius prohibited, towards the conclusion of this century, the combats with the wild beasts, and other shows. Asseman. *Biblioth. Orient. Vatic.* tom. i. p. 246.

THE limits of the Church continued to extend themselves and gained ground daily upon the idolatrous nations both in the Eastern and Western empires. To these instances of the progress of the gospel, we may add the conversion of a considerable number of Jews in the isle of *Crete*, who finding themselves grossly deluded by the impious pretensions of an impostor, called *Moses Cretensis* (u), who gave himself out for the Messiah, opened their eyes upon the truth, and embraced the Christian religion of their own accord. (w)

THE German nations, who rent in pieces the Roman empire in the West, were not all converted to Christianity at the same time. Some of them had embraced the truth before the time of their incursion; and such among others, was the case of the Goths. Others, after having erected their little kingdoms in the empire embraced the gospel, that they might thus live with more security amidst a people, who, in general, professed the Christian religion. Miracles are said to have been

(u) We shall give the relation of Socrates, concerning this impostor, in the words of the learned and estimable author of the *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History*. "In the time of Theodosius the younger, an impostor arose, called *Moses Cretensis*. He pretended to be a second *Moses*, sent to deliver the Jews who dwelt in *Crete*, and promised to divide the sea, and give them a safe passage through it. They assembled together, with their wives and children, and followed him to a promontory. He commanded them to cast themselves into the sea. Many of them obeyed and perished in the waters, and many were taken up and saved by fishermen. Upon this, the deluded Jews would have torn the impostor to pieces, but he escaped them, and was seen no more." See Jortin's *Remarks*, &c. vol. iii. p. 331.

(w) Socrates, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. vii. cap. xxxviii. p. 383.

been wrought in the conversion of these different nations, but how far these conversions were due to real miracles attending the ministry of these early preachers, is a matter extremely difficult to be determined. For though I am persuaded that those pious men, who, in the midst of many dangers, and in the face of obstacles seemingly invincible, endeavoured to spread the light of Christianity through the barbarous nations, were sometimes accompanied with the more peculiar presence and succours of the Most High (x); yet I am equally convinced, that the greatest part of the prodigies, recorded in the histories of this age, are liable to the strongest suspicions of falsehood or imposture. The simplicity and ignorance of the generality in those times furnished the most favourable occasions for the exercise of fraud; and the impudence of impostors in contriving false miracles, was artfully proportioned to the credulity of the vulgar (y), while the sagacious and the wise, who perceived these cheats, were obliged to silence by the dangers that threatened their lives and fortunes, did they discover the artifice. (z) Thus does it generally happen in human

(x) There is a remarkable passage relating to the miracles of this century, in Æneas Gazacus's *dialogue concerning the Immortality of the Soul*, &c. intitled *Theophrastus*, p. 78, 80, 81. edit. Barthii. See the controversy concerning the time when miracles ceased in the church, that was carried on some years ago, on occasion of Dr. Middleton's *Free Inquiry*, &c.

(y) This is ingenuously confessed by the Benedictine Monks, *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. ii. p. 33. and happily expressed by Livy, *Hist. lib. xxiv. cap. x. §. 6. Prodigia multa nuntiata sunt, quæ quo magis credebant simplices et religiosi homines, eo plura nuntiabantur.*

(z) Sulpitius Severus, dial. i. p. 438. Ep. i. p. 457. Dial. iii. cap. ii. p. 487.

man life, that when the discovery and profession of the truth is attended with danger, the prudent are *silent*, the multitude *believe*, and impostors *triumph*.

CELESTINE, the Roman pontiff, sent Palladius into *Ireland* to propagate the Christian religion among the rude inhabitants of that Island. This first mission (q) was not attended with much

(q) From the *fragments* of the lives of some Irish Bishops, who are said to have converted many of their countrymen in the fourth century, Archbishop Usher concludes, that Palladius was not the first Bishop of Ireland (see his *Antiquities of the British Church*.) But it has been evidently proved, and among others by Bollandus, that these *fragments* are of no earlier date than the twelfth century, and are, besides, the most of them fabulous. Dr. Mosheim's opinion is further confirmed by the authority of Prosper, which is decisive in this matter, (*that Palladius being ordained by Pope Celestine, was sent to the Scots, believing in Christ*) does manifest, *that the Scots, i. e. Irish, did believe in Christ before Palladius came*: And accordingly the Irish tradition runs, *that they had Churches under Bishops Kiaranus, Ailbeus, &c. before Palladius or St. Patrick; and that they founded Bishopricks too at Ossory, Lisimore, Ardmore and Beckerrin*; however, it must be allowed, that *St. Patrick*, who succeeded *Palladius*, was the person that had the good fortune to convert the body of that nation to Christianity, but he was so far from bringing them to *Popery*, that they owned no jurisdiction the Pope had over them, but differed from the usage at *Rome* both in *Tonsure* and in celebrating the Feast of *Easter*, and were therefore counted schismatics by the Romanists; and although at this day their religion (as the Lord of Orrery words it) is *something that pins them upon the Pope's sleeves*, yet in the beginning it was not so, but their religion was pure and orthodox. The learned Pimate Usher has sufficiently proved, *that for substance it was the same which the Protestants now profess*; and first, he cites *Cedulius* and *Claudius* (both Irishmen) *affirm-*
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much fruits; nor did the success of Palladius bear any proportion to his laborious and pious endeavours. After his death, the same Pontiff employed in mission, Succathus, a native of *Scotland*, whose name he changed into that of Patrick, and who arrived among the Irish in the year 432. The success of his ministry, and the number and importance of his pious exploits, stand upon record as undoubted proofs not only of his resolution and patience, but also of his dexterity and address. Having attacked, with much more success than his predecessor, the errors and superstitions of that uncivilized people, and brought great numbers of them over to the Christian religion, he founded, in the year 472, the Archbishopric of *Armagh* (r) which has ever since remained the

metropo-

ing in effect, that scripture is the rule of faith; and he instances in the successions of Columkille, and in Bishop Aidan, that they and their company spent their time in searching the scriptures; he quotes the testimony of St. Chrysostome and Bede, that they had the scripture in their mother tongue; and he gives you the opinion of St. Patrick, that continual meditation of scripture adds vigour and vegetation to the soul; and the saying of Columbas, sint tibi divinæ dogmata legis; by the example of Furseus, Kilianus and Bitibildis he proves, that women and children did study the scriptures; and he produces many instances wherein Sedulius and St. Patrick differed from the Rhemish translation and the vulgar Latin; and shews, that all preferred the original before any translation whatever.

(r) See the *Acta Sanctor.* tom. ii. Martii, p. 517. tom. iii. Februar. p. 131. 179. Jac. Waræi *Hibernia Sacra*, printed in folio at Dublin, 1717. This latter published at London in 1656, in 8vo. *the works of St. Patrick.* The Synods, that were held by this eminent missionary, are to be found in Wilkins's *Concilia Magnæ Brit. et Hiberniæ*, tom. i. p. 2. With respect to the famous Cave, which is called the *Purgatory of St. Patrick*, the

metropolitan see of the Irish nation. Hence this famous missionary, though not the first who brought among that people the light of the Gospel, has yet been justly intitled, *the Apostle of the Irish*, and the father of the Hibernian Church; and is still generally acknowledged and revered in that honourable character.

the reader may consult Le Brun, *Histoire Critique des pratiques superstitieuses*, tom. iv. p. 34. St. Patrick never thought of such a purgatory, for his treatise *de tribus habitaculis*, relates to Heaven, Earth and Hell, and has not the least mention of Purgatory, it was a later invention of the Monks, and so firmly believed by their votaries, that St. Casarius a German Monk has the confidence to advise all those who doubt a Purgatory to go to Ireland (to St. Patrick's Purgatory in Logbdirge) and he shall be convinced; and Doctor Tyrry assures us, that it is famous over all Europe; but O'Sullivan pa. 23, has gone farther, and in his Catholick History of Ireland has given us the description of the Rooms and Furniture in this Purgatory, and the several sorts of punishments inflicted there; and has acquainted us with the methods of getting in and safely getting out again: But after all, this has proved the most fulsome cheat that ever was imposed on mankind, and being about the year 1636 digged up, by the order of the Lords Justices, this Purgatory was found to be a Cave under ground, where the damps arising from the earth, so influenced crazy melancholy people, as to make them dream, or fancy whatever they were before-hand told they should see. See Cox's History of Ireland. The Primate quotes the saying of *Sedulius* and the Canon of an Irish Synod, *that after this life, either life or death succeedeth; and that Christ has loosed our guilt and finished our punishment*. And he concludes with the saying of *Claudius* and *Colombanus*, that when we come to the judgment seat, neither Job nor Daniel, nor Noah can intertreat for any, but every one must bear his own burthen.

C H A P. II.

*Concerning the Doctors and Ministers of the Christian Church,
and its form of Government.*

SEVERAL causes contributed to bring about a change in the external form of ecclesiastical Government. The power of the Bishops, particularly those of the first order, was sometimes augmented, and sometimes diminished, according as the times and the occasions offered; and in all these changes the intrigues of the court and the political state of the Empire had much more influence, than the rules of equity and wisdom.

THESE alterations were, indeed, matters of small moment. But an affair of much greater consequence drew now the general attention, and this was the vast augmentation of honours and rank that was at this time accumulated upon the Bishops of *Constantinople*, in opposition to the most vigorous efforts of the Roman pontiff. In the preceding century, the council of *Constantinople* had, on account of the dignity and privileges of that imperial City, conferred upon its Bishops a place among the first rulers of the Christian Church. This new dignity adding fuel to their ambition, they extended their views of authority and dominion; and encouraged, no doubt, by the consent of the Emperor, reduced the Provinces of *Asia*, *Thrace*, and *Pontus* under their ghostly jurisdiction. In this century, they grasped at still further accessions of power;

power; so that not only the whole eastern part of *Illyricum* was added to their former acquisitions, but they were also exalted to the highest summit of ecclesiastical authority. For by the xxviii *Canon*, of the council held at *Chalcedon* in the year 451, it was resolved, that the same rights and honours, which had been conferred upon the Bishop of *Rome*, were due to the Bishop of *Constantinople*, on account of the equal dignity and lustre of the two Cities, in which these Prelates exercised their authority. The same council confirmed also by a solemn act the Bishop of *Constantinople* in the spiritual Government of those Provinces over which he had ambitiously usurped the jurisdiction. Leo the Great, Bishop of *Rome*, opposed, with vehemence, the passing of these decrees, and his opposition was seconded by that of several other Prelates. But their efforts were vain, as the Emperors threw in their weight into the balance, and thus supported the decisions of the Grecian Bishops (a). In consequence then of the decrees of this famous council, the Bishop of *Constantinople* began to contend obstinately for the supremacy with the Roman Pontiff, and to crush the Bishops of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, so as to make them feel the oppressive effects of his pretended superiority. And none distinguished himself more by his ambition and arrogance in this matter, than Acaſius, one of the Bishops of that imperial City (b).

It was much about this time that Juvenal, Bishop of *Jerusalem*, or rather of *Ælia*, attempted to withdraw himself
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(a) Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* tom. i. p. 36.

(b) See Bayle's Dictionary in English, at the article Acaſius, and also Bower's lives of the Popes, Vol. 2d.

and his Church from the Bishop of *Cæsarea*, and aspired after a place among the first Prelates of the Christian world. The high degree of veneration and esteem, in which the Church of *Jerusalem* was held among all other Christian societies (on account of its rank among the Apostolical Churches, and its title to the appellation of *Mother-Church*, as having succeeded the first Christian assembly founded by the Apostles) was extremely favourable to the ambition of Juvenal, and rendered his project much more practicable, than it would otherwise have been. Encouraged by this, and animated by the favour and protection of Theodosius the younger, the aspiring Prelate not only assumed the dignity of Patriarch of all *Palestine* (c), a rank that rendered him supreme and independent of all spiritual authority. but also invaded the rights of the Bishop of *Antioch*, and usurped his jurisdiction over the Provinces of *Phœnicia* and *Arabia*. Hence there arose a warm contest between Juvenal and Maximus Bishop of Antioch, which the council of *Chalcedon* decided by restoring to the latter the Provinces of *Phœnicia* and *Arabia*; and confirming the former in

(c) By all *Palestine*, the reader is desired to understand, three distinct Provinces, of which each bore the name of *Palestina*, and accordingly the original is thus expressed, *Trium Palestina-rum Episcopum seu Patriarcham*. After the destruction of *Jerusalem*, the face of *Palestine* was almost totally changed; and it was so parcelled out and wasted by a succession of wars and invasions, that it preserved scarcely any trace of its former condition. Under the Christian Emperors there were three *Palestines* formed out of the ancient country of that name, each of which was an episcopal see. And it was of these three Dioceses that Juvenal usurped and maintained the jurisdiction. See for a further account of the three *Palestines*, Spanhemii, *Geographia Sacra*. Oppom. i. p. 79.

in spiritual possession of all *Palestine* (d), and in the high rank which he had assumed in the Church (e). By this means, there were created, in this century, five superior rulers of the Church, who were distinguished from the rest by the title of Patriarchs (f).

THE Patriarchs were distinguished by considerable and extensive rights and privileges, that were annexed to their high station. They alone consecrated the Bishops, who lived in the provinces that belonged to their jurisdiction. They assembled yearly in council the Clergy of their respective districts, in order to regulate the affairs of the Church.

It must, however, be carefully observed, that the authority of the Patriarchs was not acknowledged through all the Provinces without exception. Several districts, both in the Eastern and Western Empires, were exempted from their jurisdiction (g). Besides, the Emperors, who reserved to themselves the supreme power in the Christian hierarchy, and received with great facility and readiness, the complaints of those who considered themselves as injured by the Patriarchs; the

(d) See also, for an account of the *three Palestines*, Caroli. à S. Paulo *Geographia Sacra*, p. 307.

(e) See Mich. Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. iii. p. 110.

(f) See the authors who have written concerning the Patriarchs, which are mentioned and recommended by the learned Fabricius, in his *Bibliograph. Antiquar.* cap. xiii. p. 453.

(g) Edward Brerwodius, *Dissert. de veteris Ecclesie gubernatione Patriarchali*; which is printed at the end of Archbishop Usher's book, intituled, *Opusculum de origine Episcoporum et Metropolitan.*

the councils also, in which the majesty and legislative power of the Church immediately resided: all these were so many obstacles to the arbitrary proceedings of the Patriarchal order.

THIS constitution of ecclesiastical Government was so far from contributing to the peace and prosperity of the Christian Church, that it proved, on the contrary, a perpetual source of dissensions and animosities, and was productive of various inconveniencies and grievances. The Patriarchs, who, by their exalted rank and extensive authority, were equally able to do much good and much mischief, began to encroach upon the rights, and to trample upon the prerogative of their Bishops, and thus introduced, gradually, a sort of spiritual bondage into the Church. And that they might invade, without opposition, the rights of the Bishops, they permitted the Bishops in their turn, to trample with impunity, upon the ancient rights and privileges of the people. For, in proportion as the Bishops multiplied their privileges and extended their usurpations, the Patriarchs gained new accessions of power by the despotism which they exercised over the episcopal order. They fomented also divisions among the Bishops, and excited animosities between the Bishops and the other Ministers of the Church; nay, they went still further, and sowed the seeds of discord between the Clergy and the people, that all these combustions might furnish them with perpetual matter for the exercise of their authority, and procure them a multitude of clients and dependants. They left no artifice unemployed to strengthen their own authority,

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and to raise opposition against the Bishops from every quarter. For this purpose it was, that they engaged in their cause by the most alluring promises, and attached to their interests by the most magnificent acts of liberality, whole swarms of Monks, who served as intestine enemies to the Bishops, and as a dead weight on the side of Patriarchal tyranny. These monastic hirelings contributed more than any thing else, to ruin the ancient ecclesiastical discipline, to diminish the authority of the Bishops, and raise, to an enormous and excessive height, the power and prerogatives of their insolent and ambitious patrons.

To these lamentable evils were added the ambitious quarrels, and the bitter animosities that arose among the Patriarchs themselves, and which produced the most bloody wars, and the most detestable and horrid crimes. The Patriarch of *Constantinople* distinguished himself in these odious contests. Elated with the favour and proximity of the imperial court, he cast a haughty eye on all sides, where any objects were to be found, on which he might exercise his lordly ambition. On the one hand, he reduced, under his jurisdiction, the Patriarchs of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, as Prelates only of the second Order; and on the other, he invaded the Diocese of the Roman Pontiff, and spoiled him of several Provinces. The two former Prelates, though they struggled with vehemence, and raised considerable tumults by their opposition, yet struggled ineffectually, both for want of strength, and likewise on account of a variety of unfavourable circumstances. But the Roman Pontiff, far superior to them in wealth and power,

power, contended also with more vigour and obstinacy, and, in his turn, gave a deadly wound to the usurped supremacy of the Byzantine Patriarch.

THE attentive inquirer into the affairs of the Church, from this period, will find, in the events now mentioned, the principal source of those most scandalous and deplorable dissensions, which divided, first, the Eastern Church into various sects, and afterwards separated it entirely from that of the West. He will find, that these ignominious schisms flowed chiefly from the unchristian contentions for dominion and supremacy which reigned among those who set themselves up for the fathers and defenders of the Church.

NONE of the contending Bishops found the occurrences of the times so favourable to his ambition, as the Roman Pontiff. Notwithstanding the redoubled efforts of the Bishop of *Constantinople*, a variety of circumstances united in augmenting his power and authority; though he had not, as yet, assumed the dignity of Supreme Law-giver and Judge of the whole Christian Church. The Bishops of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, unable to make head against the lordly Prelate of *Constantinople*, fled often to the Roman Pontiff for succour against his violence; and the inferior order of Bishops used the same method, when their rights were invaded by the Prelates of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*. So that the Bishop of *Rome* by taking all these Prelates alternately under his protection, daily added new degrees of influence and authority to the Roman See, rendered it every where respected, and was thus imperceptibly establishing

blishing its supremacy. Such were the means by which the Roman Pontiff extended his dominion in the East. In the West its increase was owing to other causes. The declining power and the supine indolence of the Emperors, left the authority of the Bishops who presided in their imperial city almost without controul. The incursions, moreover, and triumphs of the Barbarians were so far from being prejudicial to his rising dominion, that they rather contributed to its advancement. For the Kings who penetrated into the empire, were only solicitous about the methods of giving a sufficient degree of stability to their respective governments. And when they perceived the subjecting of the multitude to the Bishops, and the dependance of the Bishops upon the Roman Pontiff, they immediately resolved to reconcile this ghostly ruler to their interests, by loading him with benefits and honours of various kinds.

AMONG all the Prelates who ruled the Church of *Rome* during this century, there was none who asserted, with such vigour and success, the authority and pretensions of the Roman Pontiff, as Leo, commonly surnamed the Great. It must be however observed, that neither he, nor the other promoters of that cause, were able to overcome all the obstacles that were laid in their way, nor the various checks which were given to their ambitions. Many examples might be alleged in proof of this point, particularly the case of the Africans, whom no threats nor promises could engage to submit the decision of their controversies, and the determination of their causes to the Roman tribunal. (h)

(h) Lud. El. Du Pin. *de antiqua Ecclesiæ Disciplina*, diss. ii. p. 166. Melch. Laydeckeri, *Historia Eccles. Africanæ*, tom. ii. Diss. ii. p. 105.

THE vices of the Clergy were now carried to the most enormous lengths, and all the writers of this century, whose probity and virtue render them worthy of credit, are unanimous in their accounts of the luxury, arrogance, avarice and voluptuousness of the sacerdotal orders. The *Bishops*, and particularly those of the first rank, created various *Delegates*, or *Ministers*, who managed for them the affairs of their dioceses, and a sort of courts were gradually formed, where these pompous Ecclesiastics gave audience, and received the homage of a cringing multitude. The office of a *Presbyter* was looked upon of such a high and eminent nature, that Martin, bishop of *Tours*, was so audacious as to maintain at a public entertainment, that the Emperor was inferior, in dignity, to one of that order. (i) As to the *Deacons*, their pride and licentiousness occasioned many and grievous complaints, as appears from the decrees of several councils. (k)

THESE opprobrious stains, in the characters of the Clergy, would never have been supported, had not the greatest part of mankind been sunk in superstition and ignorance, and all in general formed their ideas of the rights and liberties of Christian Ministers, from the model exhibited by the sacerdotal orders among the Hebrews, the Greeks and Romans, during the law of Moses, and the darkness of Paganism. Many of these Ecclesiastics were confined to no fixed places or assembly.

(i) Sulpitius Severus, *de vita Martini*, cap. xx. p. 339. compared with Dialog. ii. cap. vi. p. 457.

(k) See Dav. Blondel, *Apologia pro Sententia Hieronymi de episcopis et Presbyteris*, p. 140.

asssemblies, had no employment of any kind, but fauntered about wherever they pleased, gaining their maintenance by imposing upon the ignorant multitude, and sometimes by mean and dishonest practices. But if any ask, how this account is reconcileable with the number of Saints, who, according to the testimonies of both the Eastern and Western writers, are said to have shone forth in this century? The answer is obvious; these Saints were canonized by the ignorance of the times. For, in an age of darkness and corruption, those who distinguished themselves from the multitude either by their genius, their writings, or their eloquence, by their prudence and dexterity in managing matters of importance, or by their meekness and moderation, and the ascendant they had gained over their resentments and passions; all such were esteemed something more than men, they were revered as Gods; or to speak more properly, they appeared to others as men divinely inspired, and full of the Deity.

THE Monks, who had formerly lived only for themselves in solitary retreats, and had never thought of assuming any rank among the Sacerdotal Order, were now gradually distinguished from the populace, and were endowed with such opulence, and such honourable privileges, that they found themselves in a condition to claim an eminent station among the supports and pillars of the Christian community. (1)

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(1) Epiphanius. *Exposit. fidei*, tom. i. Opp. p. 1094. Mabillon, *Reponse aux Chanoines Reguliers*, tom. ii. of his Posthumous Works, p. 113.

The same of their piety and sanctity was at first so great, that Bishops and Presbyters were often chosen out of their order, (m) and the passion of erecting edifices and convents, in which the Monks and holy Virgins might serve God in the most commodious manner, was at this time carried beyond all bounds. (n)

THE Monastic Orders did not all observe the same rule of discipline, nor the same manner of living. Some followed the rule of Augustine, others that of Basil, others that of Anthony, others that of Athanasius, others that of Pachomius; but they must all have become extremely negligent and remiss in observing the laws of their respective orders, since the licentiousness of the Monks, even in this century, was become a proverb, (o) and they are said to have excited the most dreadful tumults and seditions in various places. All the Monastic Orders of all sorts, were under the protection of the Bishops in whose provinces they lived, nor did the Patriarchs claim any authority over them, as appears with the utmost evidence from the decrees of the councils held in this century. (p)

(m) Sulpitius Severus, *De vita Martini*, cap. x. p. 320. *Dial.* i. cap. xxi. p. 426.

(n) Sulpitius Severus, *Dial.* i. p. 419. Norisius, *Histor. Pelag.* lib. i. cap. iii. p. 273. tom. i. Opp. *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. ii. p. 35.

(o) Sulp. Severus, *Dial.* i. cap. viii. p. 399.

(p) See Jo. Launcii *Inquisitio in chartam immunitatis B. Germani*, Opp. tom. iii. part ii. p. 3. In the ancient records, posterior to this century, the Monks are frequently called Clerks. (See Mabillon. *Præf. ad Sac. ii. Actor. Sanctor. Ord. Benedicti*, p. 14.) And this shews, that they now began to be ranked among the Clergy, or Ministers of the Church.

C H A P. III.

Concerning the Doctrine of the Church during this Century.

MANY points of Religion were more largely explained, and many of its Doctrines determined with more accuracy and precision, than they had been in the preceding ages. This was owing to the controversies that were multiplied, at this time, throughout the Christian world, concerning the *person and nature of Christ*; the *innate corruption and depravity of man*; the *natural ability of men to live according to the dictates of the divine law*; the *necessity of the divine grace in order to salvation*; the *nature and existence of human liberty*; and other such intricate and perplexing questions. The sacred and venerable simplicity of the primitive times, which required no more than a true faith in the word of God, and a sincere obedience to his holy laws, appeared little better than rusticity and ignorance to the subtle doctors of this quibbling age. Yet so it happened, that many of the over-curious divines, who attempted to explain the nature, and remove the difficulties of these intricate doctrines, succeeded very ill in this matter. Instead of leading men into the paths of humble faith and genuine piety, they bewildered them in the labyrinths of controversy and contention, and rather darkened than illustrated the sacred mysteries of religion by a thick cloud of unintelligible subtilties, ambiguous terms, and obscure distinctions. Hence

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arose new matter of animosity and dispute, of bigotry and uncharitableness, which flowed like a torrent through succeeding ages, and which all human efforts seem unable to vanquish. In these disputes the heat of passion, and the excessive force of religious antipathy and contradiction, hurried frequently the contending parties into the most dangerous extremes.

If, before this time, the lustre of religion was clouded with superstition, and its divine precepts were adulterated with a mixture of human inventions, this evil, instead of diminishing, increased daily. The happy souls of departed Christians were invoked by numbers, and their aid implored by assiduous and fervent prayers; while none stood up to censure or oppose this preposterous worship. They were of opinion, that the places most frequented by departed spirits were those where the bodies they had formerly animated were interred; and this opinion, which the Christians borrowed from the Greeks and Romans, rendered the Sepulchres of the Saints the general rendezvous of suppliant multitudes. (q) The images of those, who, during their lives, had acquired the reputation of uncommon sanctity, were now honoured with a particular worship in several places; and many imagined, that this worship drew down into the images the propitious presence of the Saints or Celestial Beings they represented; deluded, perhaps,

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(q) Lactantius, *divinar. Institutionum*, lib. i. p. 164. Hesiodus, *Opp. et Dier.* p. 122. Compare with these, Sulpitius Severus, *Epist.* ii. p. 371. Dial. ii. cap. xiii. p. 474. Dial. iii. p. 512. Aeneas Gazæus, in Theophrasto, p. 65. Macarius in Jac. Tollii *Insignibus Itineris, Iusticiæ*, p. 197. and other writers of this age.

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into the idle fancy by the crafty fictions of the Heathen Priests, who had published the same thing concerning the statues of Jupiter and Mercury. (r) A singular and irresistible efficacy was also attributed to the bones of Martyrs, and to the figure of the cross in defeating the attempts of Satan, removing all sorts of calamities, and in healing not only the diseases of the body, but also those of the mind. (s) We shall not enter here into a particular account of the public supplications, the holy pilgrimages, the superstitious services paid to departed souls, the multiplication of temples, altars, penitential garments, and a multitude of other circumstances that shewed the decline of genuine piety, and the corrupt darkness that was eclipsing the lustre of primitive Christianity. As there were none in these times to hinder the Christians from retaining the opinions of their Pagan ancestors concerning departed souls, heroes, demons, temples, and such like matters, and even transferring them into their religious services; and as, instead of entirely abolishing the rites and institutions of ancient times, these institutions were still observed with only some slight alterations; all this swelled of necessity the torrent of superstition, and deformed the beauty of the Christian religion and worship with those corrupt remains of Paganism, which still subsist in the Romish church.

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(r) Clementina. *Hemil.* x. p. 697. tom. i. PP. *Apostolic.* Arnobius, *Adv. Gentes*, lib. vi. p. 254. Casp. Barthius, *ad Rutilium Numantian.* p. 250.

(s) Prudentius Hymn. xi, *de Coronis*, p. 150, 151. Sulpitius Severus, *Ep.* i. p. 364. *Æneas Gazæus*, in Theophrasto, p. 173.

It will not be improper to observe here, that the famous Pagan doctrine, concerning the *purification of departed Souls*, by means of a certain kind of *fire*, was more amply explained and confirmed now, than it had formerly been. (t) Every body knows, that this doctrine proved an inexhaustible source of riches to the clergy through the succeeding ages, and that it still enriches the Romish church with its nutritious streams.

THEODORET and THEODORE, bishops of *Cyrus* and *Mop-suestia*, the two most famous expositors of this age, illustrated a great part of the holy scriptures by their pious labours. They were truly eminent both in point of learning and genius; and free and unprejudiced in their search after truth, they followed the explications of scripture given by their predecessors, only as far as they found them agreeable to reason. The commentaries of Theodoret are yet extant, and in the hands of the learned. (u) Those of Theodore are concealed in the East among the Nestorians, though on many accounts worthy to see the light. (w)

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(t) See particularly concerning this matter, Augustin his viiith book *de Quæstionibus ad Dulcitium*, N. xiii. tom. vi. Opp. p. 128. *de fide et operibus*, cap. xvi. p. 182. *de fide, spe, et charitate*, f. 118, p. 222. Enarratione Psal. xxxv. f. 3. &c.

(u) See Simon, *Histoire critique des principaux Commentateurs du N. Test.* ch. xxii. p. 314; as also his *Critique de la Biblioth. Ecclesiast. de Du Pin*, tom. i. p. 180. Theodoret wrote Commentaries upon the five books of *Moses*, *Jeshua*, *Ruth*, *Samuel*, *Kings*, *Chronicles*, the *Psalms*, the *Canticles*, *Isaiab*, *Jeremiab*, *Baruch*, *Lamentations*, *Ezekiel*, *Daniel*, the xii lesser *Propheets*, and *St. Paul's* xiv. *Epistles*.

(w) Jos. Sim. Asseman, *Biblioth. Orient. Clem. Vatic.* tom. iii. f. 2. p.

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IT is to be lamented that many other writers, both Greek and Latin, following the idle fancies of Origen, overlooked the true and natural sense of words, and hunted after subtle and hidden significations, for *mysteries* (as the Latins then termed them) in the plainest precepts of the holy scriptures. None went greater lengths in censuring these fanciful followers of Origen than Theodore of *Mopsuestia*, who not only wrote a *book concerning allegory and history against Origen*, (x) but also, in his *Commentary on the Prophets*, did not hesitate to apply the most of their predictions to various events in ancient history. (y) This manner of interpreting scripture was very ill received, and contributed, perhaps, more to raise the general cry against him, than all the erroneous doctrines with which he was charged. (z) The doctrines of religion were, at this time, understood and represented in a manner, that favoured little of their native purity and simplicity. They were drawn out by laboured commentaries beyond the terms in which the divine wisdom had thought fit to reveal them; and

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227. Simon. *Critique de la Biblioth. Eccles. de Du Pin*, tom. i. p. 108, 677. We are assured by Fabricius, upon the testimony of Lambecius, that Theodore's *Commentary upon the xii Prophets*, is still in being, in MS. in the Emperor's library at *Vienna*. See *Fabr. Bibl. Græc.* tom. ix. p. 162. See also for an ample and learned account of the writings of this author, Lardner's *Credibility*, &c. vol. ix. p. 389.

(x) Facundus, *Hermianensis de tribus Capitulis*, lib. iii. cap. vi. *Liberatus in Breviario*, cap. xxiv.

(y) *Acta Concilii Constantinopol. II. Seu Oecumenici* v. tom. iii *Conciliorum*, p. 58. edit. Harduini.

(z) Theodore, after his death, was considered as the parent of the Pelagian and Nestorian heresies, though, during his life, he was held in the highest esteem, and died in the communion of the Church.

were examined with that minuteness and subtilty that were only proper to cover them with obscurity.

OF all the instances of superstitious frenzy that disgrace this age, none was held in higher veneration, or excited more the wonder of the multitude, than that of a certain order of men, who were called *Stilires* by the Greeks, and *Sancti Columnares*, or Pillar Saints, by the Latins. These were persons of a most singular and extravagant turn of mind, who stood motionless upon the tops of *pillars*, expressly raised for this exercise of their patience, and remained there for several years, amidst the admiration and applause of the stupid populace. The inventor of this strange and ridiculous discipline was Simeon a Syrian, who began his follies by changing the agreeable employment of a Shepherd, for the senseless austerities of the Monkish life. But his enthusiasm carried him still greater lengths; for, in order to climb as near Heaven as he could, he passed thirty-seven years of his wretched life upon five pillars of six, twelve, twenty-two, thirty-six, and forty cubits high, and thus acquired a most shining reputation and attracted the veneration of all about him. (a) Many of the inhabitants of *Syria* and *Palestine*, seduced by a false ambition, and an utter ignorance of true religion, followed the example of this fanatic, though not with the same degree of austerity. And what is almost incredible, this superstitious practice

(a) See the *Acta Sanctorum Mensis Januarii*, tom. i. p. 261, 277, where the reader will find the account we have given of this whimsical discipline.

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practice continued in vogue until the twelfth century, when however it was, at length, totally suppressed. (b)

THE mystic rules of discipline and manners had a bad effect upon the moral writers, and those who were set apart for the instructions of Christians. They were more diligent and zealous in inculcating a regard for the external parts of religion, and an attachment to bodily exercise, than in forming the heart and the affections to inward piety and solid virtue. A few choice spirits boldly attempted to pluck up by the roots this growing superstition, and to bring back the deluded multitude from this vain and chimerical discipline to the practice of solid and genuine piety. But the votaries of superstition, who were superior in number, reputation and authority, reduced them soon to silence, and rendered their noble and pious efforts utterly ineffectual. (c) We have an example of this in the case of Vigilantius, a man remarkable for his learning and eloquence, who was born in *Gaul*, and went from thence to *Spain*, where he performed the functions of a Presbyter. This Ecclesiastic, on his return from a voyage he made into *Palestine* and *Egypt*, began, about the beginning of this century, to propagate several doctrines, and to publish repeated exhortations quite opposite to the opinions and manners of the times. Among other things, he denied that the tombs and the bones of the Martyrs were to be honoured with

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(b) See Urb. Godofr. Siberi, *diff. de Sanctis Columnaribus*, Caroli Majelli *Diff. de Stylitis*, published in Assemanni *Ant. Martyr. Orient. et Occident.* tom. ii. p. 246.

(c) Augustin complains of this in his famous Epistle to Januarius, No. 119.

any sort of homage and worship; and therefore censured the pilgrimages that were made to places that were reputed holy. He turned into derision the prodigies which were said to be wrought in the temples consecrated to Martyrs, and condemned the custom of performing vigils in them. He asserted, and indeed with reason, that the custom of burning tapers at the tombs of the Martyrs in broad day, was imprudently borrowed from the ancient superstition of the Pagans. He maintained, moreover, that prayers addressed to departed Saints were void of all efficacy; and treated with contempt, fasting and mortifications, the celibacy of the clergy, and the curious austerities of a monastic life. And finally, he affirmed, that the conduct of those, who distributing their substance among the indigent, submitted to the hardships of a voluntary poverty, or sent a part of their treasures to *Jerusalem* for devout purposes, had nothing in them acceptable to the Deity.

THERE were among the Gallic and Spanish Bishops, several that relished the opinions of the Vigilantius. But Jerome, the great monk of the age, assailed this bold reformer of religion with such bitterness and fury, that the honest Presbyter soon found that nothing but his silence could preserve his life from the intemperate rage of bigotry and superstition. This project then of reforming the corruptions, which a fanatical and superstitious zeal had introduced into the Church, was choaked in its birth. (d) And the name of good Vigilantius remains

(d) Bayle's *Dictionary*, at the article Vigilantius, Barbeyrac, *de la Morale des Peres*, p. 252. Ger. Jo. Vossius, *Theſibus Historico-Theologicis*, p. 170.

remains still in the *list of heretics*, which is acknowledged as authentic by those, who without any regard to their own judgment or the declarations of scripture, followed blindly the decisions of antiquity.

p. 170. *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. ii. p. 57. Here is another strong proof of the deviations made in the Primitive Religion; it is said by the Ministers of the Popish Church, that none objected to these corruptions before Luther, the doctrines of Vigilantius and Luther are the same, and are at this day those which the Protestants object to, in the Popish Church.

CHAP. IV.

Concerning the Rites and Ceremonies used in the Church during this Century.

TO enumerate the rites and institutions that were added in this century, to the Christian worship, would require a volume of considerable size. The *acts of councils*, and the records left us by the most celebrated ancient writers, are the sources from whence the curious may draw a satisfactory and particular account of this matter; and to these we refer such as are desirous of something more than a general view of the subject under consideration. Several of these ancient writers, uncorrupted by the contagious examples of the times in which they lived, have ingenuously acknowledged that true piety and virtue were smothered as it were, under that enormous burthen of ceremonies under which they lay groaning in this century. This evil was owing partly to the ignorance and dishonesty of the clergy; partly to the calamities of the times, which were extremely unfavourable to the pursuit of knowledge, and to the culture of the mind; and partly, indeed, to the natural depravity of imperfect mortals, who are much more disposed to worship with the eye, than with the heart, and are more ready to offer to the Deity the laborious pomp of an outward service, than the nobler, yet simple oblation of pious dispositions and holy affections.

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D VINE worship was now daily rising from one degree of pomp to another, and degenerating more and more into a gaudy spectacle only proper to attract the stupid admiration of a gazing populace. The Sacerdotal garments were embellished with a variety of ornaments, with a view to excite in the minds of the multitude a greater veneration for the Sacred Order. New acts of devotion were also celebrated. In *Gaul*, particularly the solemn *prayers* and *supplications*, which usually precede the anniversary of Christ's ascension, were now instituted for the first time. (c) In other places perpetual acclamations of praise to God were performed both night and day by singers who succeeded each other, so as that the service suffered no interruption; (d) as if the Supreme Being took pleasure in such noisy and turbulent shouting, or received any gratification from the blandishments of men. The riches and magnificence of the churches exceeded all bounds. (e) They were also adorned with costly images, among which, in consequence of the Nestorian controversy, that of the Virgin Mary, holding the Child Jesus in her arms, obtained the first and principal place. The altars and the chests in which the relicks were preserved, were in most places made of solid silver. And from this we may easily imagine, the splendor and expences that were lavished upon the other utensils which were employed in the service of the Church.

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(c) See Sidonius Apollinaris, *Epist.* lib. v. *Epist.* xvi. lib. vi. *Epist.* i. as also Martene, *Thesaurus Anecdotorum*, tom. v. p. 47.

(d) Gervais, *Histoire de Suger*, tom. i. p. 23.

(e) See Zacharias of Mitylene, *de opificio Mundi*, p. 165, 166.

ON the other hand, the *agapæ*, or *feasts of charity*, were now suppressed on account of the abuses to which they gave occasion amidst the daily decline of that piety and virtue, which rendered these meetings useful and edifying in the primitive ages. A new method also of proceeding with *penitents* was introduced into the Latin Church. For grievous offenders, who had formerly been obliged to confess their guilt in the face of the congregation, were now delivered from this mortifying penalty, and obtained from Leo the Great, a permission to *confess* their crimes *privately* to a priest appointed for that purpose. By this change of the ancient discipline, one of the greatest restraints upon licentiousness, and the only remaining barrier of chastity, was entirely removed, and the actions of Christians were subject to no other scrutiny than that of the clergy; a change which was frequently convenient for the sinner, and also advantageous in many respects to the Sacred Order.

I CANNOT dismiss this chapter without making mention of the famous dispute between Acacius Bishop of *Constantinople* and Felix II. Bishop of Rome.

THE Roman Pontiff Felix II. having assembled an Italian council, composed of sixty-seven Bishops, condemned, deposed, and cut off, from the communion of the Church, Acacius Bishop of *Constantinople*, as a perfidious enemy to the truth. Several articles were alledged against Acacius to furnish a pretext for the severity of this sentence; such as his attachment to the Monophysites, and their leaders Mongus and Fullo,

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the contempt with which he treated the council of *Chalcedon*, and other accusations of a like nature. But the true reasons of these proceedings, and of the irreconcilable hatred which the Roman Pontiffs indulged against Acacius, were his denying the supremacy of the Bishop of *Rome*, his opposing it throughout the whole course of his ministry (f), and his ambitious efforts to enlarge beyond all bounds the authority and prerogatives of the See of *Constantinople*.

THE Greeks however defended the character and memory of their Bishop against all the aspersions which were cast upon

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(f) As the Compiler has already informed his reader, he meant to avoid those points of controversy which affected the church at this period, and which could not be of the least service now, as he conceives them to be far above man's finite understanding, so he declines entering into the nature of these accusations brought against Acacius, and only mentions this matter to shew, that this is one of the periods of Ecclesiastical History, in which we find a multitude of events, which are so many proofs how far the Supremacy of the Bishop of *Rome* was from being universally acknowledged. Pope Felix ii. deposes and excommunicates Acacius the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, who not only receives this sentence with contempt, but, in his turn, anathematizes and excommunicates the Pope, and orders his name to be struck out of the *Diptychs*. This conduct of Acacius is approved by the Emperor, the Church of *Constantinople*, by almost all the Eastern Bishops, nay, by even Andreas of *Thessalonica*, who was at that time the Pope's Vicar for *East Illyricum*. This was the occasion of that general schism, which continued for the space of twenty-five years, between the Eastern and Western churches. It is here worthy of observation, that the Eastern Bishops did not adhere to the cause of Acacius from any other principle, as appears from the most authentic records of those times, than a persuasion of the illegality of his excommunication by the Roman Pontiff, who in their judgment, had not a right to depose the first Bishop of the East, without the consent of a general council.

him by the Romans. Hence arose a new schism and new contests, which were carried on with great violence until the following century, when the obstinacy and perseverance of the Latins triumphed over the opposition of the Oriental Christians, and brought about an agreement; in consequence of which, the names of Acacius and Fullo were struck out of the *diptychs*, or sacred registers, and thus branded with perpetual infamy. (g)

(g) Hen. Valeſius, *Differt. de Synodis Roman. in quibus damnatus eſt Acaciſs*, ad calam. tom. iii. *Scriptor. Eccleſ.* p. 179. Baſnage, *Hijtoire de l'Egliſe*, tom. i. p. 301, 380, 381. Bayle's *Dictionary* in Engliſh, at the article Acacius. David Blondel, de la Primauté dans l'Egliſe, p. 279. *Acta Sanctorum*, tom. iii. Februar. p. 502.

END OF THE FIFTH CENTURY.

AN
ABRIDGMENT
OF

M O S H E I M's
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

P A R T III.

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THE
SIXTH CENTURY.

THE
EXTERNAL HISTORY
OF THE
CHURCH.

CHAP. I.

*Concerning the Prosperous Events which happened to the
Church during this Century.*

THE zeal of the Bishops of *Constantinople*, seconded by the protection and influence of the Grecian Emperors, increased the number of Christians in the East, and contributed to
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the conversion of some barbarous nations, of those, particularly, who lived upon the borders of the *Euxine* sea, as appears by the most authentic records of Grecian history. Among these nations were the Abasgi, who inhabited the country lying between the coasts of the *Euxine* sea, and mount *Caucasus*, and who embraced Christianity under the reign of Justinian; (a) the Heruli, who dwelt beyond the *Danube*, and who were converted under the same reign; (b) as also the Alans, Lazi, and Zoni, with other uncivilized countries, whose situation, at this time is only known by vague and imperfect conjectures. These conversions, indeed, however pompously they may sound, were extremely superficial and imperfect, as we learn from the most credible accounts that have been given of them.

ALL that was required of these darkened nations amounted to an oral profession of their faith in Christ, to their abstaining from sacrificing to the Gods, and their committing to memory certain forms of doctrine; while little care was taken to enrich their minds with pious sentiments, or to cultivate in their hearts virtuous affections. So that, even after their conversion to Christianity, they retained their primitive ferocity, and savage manners, and continued to distinguish themselves by the most horrid acts of cruelty and rapine, and the practice of all sorts of wickedness. In the greatest part of the Grecian provinces, and even in the capital of the East-

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(a) Procopius, *de bello Gothico*, lib. iv. cap. iii. Le Quien. *Oriens Christianus*, tom. i. p. 1351.

(b) Procopius, I. c. lib. ii. cap. xiv.

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ern empire, there were still multitudes who preserved a sacred attachment to the Pagan religion. Of these vast numbers were brought over to Christianity, under the reign of Justin, by the ministerial labours of John Bishop of Asia. (c)

In the Western parts Remigius Bishop of *Rheims*, who is commonly called *The Apostle of the Gauls*, signalized his zeal in the conversion of those who still adhered to the ancient superstitions; (d) and his success was considerable, particularly after that auspicious period, when Clovis, King of the Franks, embraced the gospel.

In *Britain* several circumstances concurred to favour the propagation of Christianity. Ethelbert, King of *Kent*, and the most considerable of the Anglo-Saxon Monarchs, among whom that Island was, at this time divided, married Bertha, daughter of Cherebert, King of *Paris*, towards the conclusion of this century. This Princess, partly by her own influence, and partly by the pious efforts of the clergy, who followed her into *Britain*, gradually formed, in the mind of Ethelbert, a certain inclination to the Christian religion. While the King was in this favourable disposition, Gregory the Great sent into Britain, A. D. 596, forty Benedictin Monks, with Augustin at their head, (e) in order to bring to perfection what the

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(c) Jos. Sim. Assémanus, Biblioth. Orient. Vatic. tom. ii. p. 85.

(d) Histoire Litteraire de la France, tom. iii. p. 155.

(e) This British Apostle was Prior of the Monastery of St. Andrew, of the Order of St. Benedict, at *Rome*. After his arrival in

pious Queen had so happily begun. This Monk, seconded by the zeal and assistance of Bertha, converted the King, and the greatest part of the inhabitants of *Kent*, and laid anew the foundations of the British Church. (f)

THE labours of Columbus, an Irish Monk, were attended with success among the Picts and Scots, many of whom embraced the gospel of Christ. (g)

IN *Germany*, the Bohemians, Thuringians, and Boii, are said to have abandoned, in this century, their ancient superstitions, (h) and to have received the light of divine truth; though this fact appears extremely doubtful to many.

ALL these conversions and sacred exploits will lose much of their importance in the esteem of such, as examine with attention the accounts which have been given of them by the writers of this and the succeeding ages. For by these accounts

in *England*, he converted the Heathen temples into places of Christian worship, erected Christ-Church into a Cathedral, opened a seminary of learning, founded the Abbey of St. Augustine, received Episcopal Ordination from the Primate of *Arles*, was invested by Pope Gregory, with power over all the British Bishops and Saxon Prelates, and was the first Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

(f) Bede, *Histor. Eccles. Gentis Anglor.* lib. i. cap. xxiii. p. 55. edit. Chisati. Rapin's History of England. *Acta Sanctor.* tom. iii. Februar. p. 470.

(g) Bede, *Histor. Eccles.* lib. iii. cap. iv. p. 134.

(h) Henr. Canis II. *Lectio. Antiquæ*, tom. iii. part ii. p. 208. *Aventinus Annal Boiorum.*

counts it appears, that the converted nations, now mentioned, retained a great part of their former impiety, superstition, and licentiousness; and that, attached to Christ, by a mere outward and nominal profession, they, in effect, renounced the purity of his doctrine, and the authority of his gospel by their flagitious lives, and the superstitious and idolatrous rites and institutions which they continued to observe. (i).

A VAST multitude of Jews, converted to Christianity in several places, were added to the Church during the course of this century. Many in the East, particularly the inhabitants of *Borium*, a city of *Libya*, were brought over to the truth by the persuasion and influence of the Emperor Justinian. (k) In the West the zeal and authority of the Gallic and Spanish Monarchs, the efforts of Gregory the Great, and the labours of Avitus Bishop of *Vienna*, engaged numbers of that blinded nation to receive the gospel. It must, however, be acknowledged, that of these conversions the greatest part were owing to the liberality of Christian Princes, or to the fear of punishment, rather than to the force of argument, or to the love of truth.

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(i) This is ingenuously confessed by the Benedictin Monks, in the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. iii. Introd. p. 8, 11, 13. See also the orders given to the Anglo-Saxons by Gregory the Great, in his Epist. lib. xi. lxxvi. p. 1176. tom. ii. Opp. edit. Benedict. where we find him permitting them to sacrifice to the Saints, on their respective holidays, the victims which they had formerly offered to the Gods. See also Wilkins's *Concilia Magnæ Britanniæ*, tom. i. p. 18.

(k) Procopius, de *ædificiis Justiniani*, lib. vi. cap. ii.

IF credit is to be given to the writers of this century, the conversion of those uncivilized nations to Christianity was principally effected by the prodigies and miracles which the Heralds of the Gospel were enabled to work in its behalf. But the conduct of the converted nations is sufficient to invalidate the force of these testimonies: for certainly had such miracles been wrought among them, their lives would have been more suitable to their profession; and their attachment and obedience to the doctrines and laws of the Gospel more stedfast and exemplary, than they appear to have been. Besides, as we have already had occasion to observe, in abandoning their ancient superstitions, the greatest part of them were more influenced by the example and authority of their Princes, than by force of argument, or the power of a rational conviction. And, indeed, if we consider the wretched manner in which many of the first Christian missionaries performed the solemn task they had undertaken, we shall perceive that they wanted not many arguments to enforce the doctrines they taught, and the discipline they recommended; for they required nothing of these barbarous people that was difficult to be performed, or that laid any remarkable restraint upon their appetites and passions. The principal injunctions they imposed upon these rude Profelytes were, that they should get by heart certain summaries of doctrine, and pay to the images of Christ and the Saints the same religious services which they had formerly offered to the statues of the Gods. Nor were they at all delicate or scrupulous in chusing the means of establishing their credit; for they looked upon it as lawful, nay even meritorious, to deceive an ignorant and inatten-

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tive multitude, by representing to them, as prodigies, things that were merely natural, as we learn from the most authentic records of those times.

CHAP. II.

Concerning the Doctors and Ministers of the Church.

THE external form of Church Government continued without any remarkable alteration during the course of this century. But the Bishops of *Rome* and *Constantinople*, who were considered as the most eminent and principal rulers of the Christian Church, were engaged in perpetual disputes about the extent and limits of their respective jurisdictions, and seemed both to aspire at the supreme authority in ecclesiastical matters. The Bishop of *Constantinople* not only claimed an unrivalled sovereignty over the Eastern Churches, but also maintained, that his Church was, in point of dignity, no way inferior to that of *Rome*. The Roman Pontiffs beheld, with impatience, these lordly pretensions, and warmly asserted the pre-eminence of their Church, and its undoubted superiority over that of *Constantinople*. Gregory the Great distinguished himself in this violent contest; and the following event furnished him with an opportunity of exerting his zeal. In the year 588, John Bishop of *Constantinople*, surnamed the Faster, on account of his extraordinary abstinence and austerity, assembled,

embled, by his own authority, a council at *Constantinople*, to enquire into an accusation brought against Peter patriarch of *Antioch*; and, upon this occasion, assumed the title of *œcumenical*, or *universal Bishop* (l). Now, although this title had been formerly enjoyed by the Bishops of *Constantinople*, and was also susceptible of an interpretation that might have prevented its giving umbrage or offence to any (m), yet Gregory suspected, both from the time and the occasion of John's renewing his claim to it, that he was aiming at the supremacy over all Christian Churches; and therefore he opposed his claim in the most vigorous manner in letters to that purpose addressed to the Emperor, and to such persons as he judged proper to second his opposition. But all his efforts were without effect; and the Bishops of *Constantinople* continued to assume the title in question, though not in the sense, in which it had alarmed the Roman Pontiff (n). This Pontiff, however,

(l) We cannot avoid taking notice of some mistakes which have slipped from the pen of Dr. Mosheim in his narration of this event. *First*, The council here mentioned was held under the Pontificate of Pelagius II, and not of Gregory the Great, who was not chosen Bishop of *Rome* before A. D. 590. *Secondly*, The person accused before this council was not Peter, but Gregory Bishop of *Antioch*. *Thirdly*, It does not appear that the council was summoned by John of *Constantinople*, but by the Emperor Mauricius, to whom Gregory had appealed from the Governor of the East, before whom he was first accused.

(m) The title of *Universal Bishop*, which had been given by Leo and Justinian to the Patriarchs of *Constantinople*, was not attended with any accession of power.

(n) Gregor. Magni Epist. lib. iv. v. vii. All the passages in these Epistles, that relate to this famous contest, have been extracted and illustrated by Launois, in his *Dissertio in Privileg. S. Madardi*. tom. i. p. 67. Peaffii *Dissertatio de titulo Œcumenicus*, in the *Tempe Helvetica*. tom. iv. p. 99.

ever, adhered tenaciously to his purpose, opposed with vehemence the Bishop of *Constantinople*, raised new tumults and dissensions among the sacred order, and aimed at no less than an unlimited supremacy over the Christian Church. This ambitious design succeeded in the West; while, in the Eastern Provinces, his arrogant pretensions were scarcely respected by any but those who were at enmity with the Bishop of *Constantinople*; and this Prelate was always in a condition to make head against the progress of his authority in the East. How much the opinions of some were favourable to the lordly demands of the Roman Pontiffs, may be easily imagined from an expression of Ennodius, that infamous and extravagant flatterer of Symmachus, who was a Prelate of but ambiguous fame. This parasitical Panegyrist, among other impertinent assertions, maintained that the Roman Pontiff was constituted *judge in the place of God*, which he filled as the vicegerent of the most high (o). On the other hand, it is certain, from a variety of the most authentic records, that both the Emperors, and the nations in general were far from being disposed to bear with patience the yoke of servitude, which the see of *Rome* was arrogantly imposing upon the Christian Church (p). The Gothic Princes set bounds to the power of the Bi-

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(o) See his *Apologeticum pro Synodo*, in the xvth volume of the *Bibliotheca Magna patrum*, p. 248. edit. Paris. One would think that this servile adulator had never read the 4th verse of the 11th chap. of St. Paul's 2d *Epistle to the Thessalonians*, where the *Anti-Christ*, or man of sin, is described in the very terms in which he represents the authority of the Pontiff Symmachus.

(p) See particularly the truth of this assertion, with respect to *Spain*, in Geddes's *Dissertation on the Papal supremacy, chiefly with relation to the ancient*

shop of *Rome in Italy*, permitted none to be raised to the Pontificate without their approbation, and reserved to themselves the right of judging concerning the legality of every new election (q). They enacted the spiritual laws, called the religious orders before their tribunals, and summoned councils by their regal authority (r). In consequence of all this, the Pontiffs amidst all their high pretensions revered the Majesty of their Kings and Emperors, and submitted to their authority with the most profound humility; nor were they as yet, so lost to all sense of shame, as to aim at the subjection of Kings and Princes to their ghostly dominion (s).

THE rights and privileges of the Clergy were very considerable before this period, and the riches, which they had accumulated, immense; and both received daily augmentations from the growth of superstition in this century. The arts of a rapacious Priesthood were practised upon the ignorant devotion of the simple; and even the remorse of the wicked was made an instrument of increasing the ecclesiastical treasure. For an opinion was propagated with industry among the people, that the remission of their sins was to be purchased by their liberalities to the Churches and Monks,

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ancient Spanish Church, which is to be found in the second volume of his *Miscellaneous Tracts*.

(q) See Jo. Jac. Mascovii. *Histor. Germanor.* tom. ii. not. p. 113.

(r) Basnage, *Histoire des Eglises Reformes*, tom. i. p. 381.

(s) See the citations from Gregory the Great, collected by Launois, *de regia potestate in matrimon.* tom. i. Opp. part II. p. 691, and in his *Affertio in Privilegium S. Medardi*, p. 272, tom. iii. Opp. part II. See also Giannone, *Hist. de Naples*, tom. ii. p. 282.

and that the prayers of departed Saints, whose efficacy was victorious at the throne of God, were to be bought by offerings presented to the Temples, which were consecrated to these celestial mediators. But in proportion as the riches of the Church increased, the various orders of the Clergy were infected with those vices that are too often the consequences of an affluent prosperity. This appears with the utmost evidence, from the imperial edicts and the decrees of councils, which were so frequently levelled at the immoralities of those who were distinguished by the name of *clerks*. For whence so many laws to restrain the vices, and to preserve the morals of the ecclesiastical orders, if they had fulfilled even the obligations of external decency, or shewn, in the general tenor of their lives, a certain degree of respect for religion and virtue? Be that as it will, the effect of all these laws and edicts was so inconsiderable as to be scarcely perceived; for so high was the veneration paid, at this time, to the Clergy, that their most flagitious crimes were corrected by the slightest and gentlest punishments; an unhappy circumstance, which added to their presumption, and rendered them more daring and audacious in iniquity.

THE Bishops of *Rome*, who considered themselves as the chiefs and fathers of the Christian Church, are not to be excepted from this censure, any more than the Clergy who were under their jurisdiction. We may form some notion of their humility and virtue by that long and vehement contention, which arose in the year 498, between Symmachus and Laurentius, who were on the same day, elected to the Pontificate

by different parties, and whose dispute was at length, decided by Theodoric King of the Goths. Each of these ecclesiastics maintained obstinately the validity of his election; they reciprocally accused each other of the most detestable crimes; and to their mutual dishonour their accusations did not appear, on either side, entirely destitute of foundation. Three different councils assembled at *Rome*, endeavoured to terminate this odious schism (s), but without success. A fourth was summoned, by Theodoric, to examine the accusations brought against Symmachus, to whom this Prince had at the beginning of the schism, adjudged the papal chair. This council was held about the commencement of this century, and in it the Roman Pontiff was acquitted of the crimes laid to his charge. But the adverse party refused to acquiesce in this decision: and this gave occasion to Ennodius of *Ticinum*, now *Pavia*, to draw up his adulatory *apology for the council and Symmachus* (t). In this apology, which disguises the truth under the seducing colours of a gaudy rhetoric, the reader will perceive that the foundations of that enormous power, which the Popes of *Rome* afterwards acquired, were now laid; but he will seek in vain in this laboured production any satisfactory proof of the injustice of the charge brought against Symmachus (u).

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(s) This schism may be truly termed odious, as it was carried on by assassinations, massacres, and all the cruel proceedings of a desperate civil war. See Paul Diaconus, lib. xvii.

(t) This apology may be seen in the xv volumes of the *Magn. Bibl. Patrum*, p. 248.

(u) That Symmachus was never fairly acquitted, may be presumed from the *first*, and proved from the *second* of the following circumstances:

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THE number, credit, and influence of the Monks augmented daily in all parts of the Christian world. They multiplied so prodigiously in the East, that whole armies might have been raised of the Monastic Order, without any sensible diminution of that enormous body. The Monastic life was also highly honoured, and had an incredible number of patrons and followers in all the Western Provinces, as appears from the rules which were prescribed, in this century, by various Doctors for directing the conduct of the Cloistered Monks and the Holy Virgins that had sacrificed their capacity of being useful in the world, to the gloomy charms of a convent (w). The Monastic Orders, in general, abounded with fanatics and profligates; the *latter* were more numerous than the *former* in the Western Convents, while, in those of the East, the fanatics were predominant.

A NEW Order of Monks, which in a manner absorbed all the others that were established in the West was instituted, A. D 529, by Benedict of *Nursia*, a man of piety and reputation for the age he lived in. From this *rule* of discipline, which

ces: *first*, that Theodoric, who was a wise and equitable Prince, and who had attentively examined the charge brought against him, would not have referred the decision to the Bishops, if the matter had been clear, but would have pronounced judgment himself, as he had formerly done concerning the legality of his election. The *second* circumstance against Symmachus is, that the council acquitted him without so much as hearing those who accused him; and he himself did not appear, though frequently summoned.

(w) These are in Holstenius's *Codex Regularum*, part II, which work was published at *Rome* in three Vol. 4to, in the year 1661. See also Edm. Martene et Urfin. *Thesaur. Anecd. Nov.* tom i. p. 4.

which is yet extant, we learn that it was not his intention to impose it upon all the Monastic Societies, but to form an order whose discipline should be milder, their establishment more solid, and their manners more regular, than those of the other Monastic bodies; and whose Members, during the course of a holy and peaceful life were to divide their time between prayer, reading, education of youth, and other pious and learned labours (x). But in process of time, the followers of this celebrated ecclesiastic degenerated sadly from the piety of their founder, and lost sight of the duties of their station. Having acquired immense riches from the devout liberality of the opulent, they sunk into luxury, intemperance, and sloth, abandoned themselves to all sorts of vices, extended their zeal and attention to worldly affairs, insinuated themselves into the cabinets of Princes, took part in political cabals and court factions, made a vast augmentation of superstitious rites and ceremonies in their order to blind the multitude, and supply the place of their expiring virtue; and, among other *meritorious* enterprizes, laboured most ardently to swell the arrogance, by enlarging the power and authority of the Roman Pontiff.

THIS new order made a most rapid progress in the West; and in a short space of time, arrived at the most flourishing state. This sudden and amazing progress was ascribed, by the Benedictines, to the wisdom and sanctity of their discipline, and

(x) See Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* sæc. i. & *Annales Ordinis Benedicti*, tom. i. See also Helyotus and the other writers, who have given accounts of the Monastic orders.

and to the miracles which were worked by their founder and his followers. But a more attentive view of things will convince the impartial observer, that the protection of the Roman Pontiffs, to the advancement of whose grandeur and authority the Benedictins were most fervently devoted, contributed much more to the lustre and influence of their order, than any other circumstances, nay, than all other considerations united together. But however universal their credit was, they did not reign alone; other orders subsisted in several places until the ninth century, when the Benedictin absorbed, indeed, all the other religious societies, and held unrivalled, the reins of the Monastic Empire (y).

(y) L'enfant, *Histoire du Concile de Constance*, tom. ii. p. 32, 33.

C H A P. III.

*Concerning the Doctrine of the Christian Church during
this Century.*

WHEN once the Ministers of the Church had departed from the ancient simplicity of religious worship, and sullied the native purity of divine truth by a motley mixture of human inventions, it was difficult to set bounds to this growing corruption. Abuses were daily multiplied, and superstition drew from its horrid fecundity an incredible number of absurdities, which were added to the doctrine of Christ and his Apostles. The controversial writers in the Eastern Provinces continued to render perplexed and obscure some of the principal doctrines of Christianity, by the subtle distinctions which they borrowed from a vain and chimerical philosophy. The public teachers and instructors of the people degenerated sadly from the Apostolic character. They seemed to aim at nothing else, than to sink the multitude into the most opprobrious ignorance and superstition; to efface in their minds all sense of the beauty and excellence of genuine piety; and to substitute in the place of religious principles, a blind veneration for the Clergy, and a stupid zeal for a senseless round of ridiculous rites and ceremonies. This perhaps, will appear less surprizing, when we consider, that *the blind led the blind*; for the public Ministers and teachers of religion were, for the most

most part, grossly ignorant ; nay almost as much so as the multitude whom they were appointed to instruct (2).

To be convinced of the truth of the dismal representation we have here given of the state of religion at this time, nothing more is necessary than to cast an eye upon the doctrines now taught concerning the *worship of Images and Saints, the fire of Purgatory, the efficacy of good works*, i. e. the observance of human rites and institutions, towards the attainment of *salvation, the power of relicks to heal the diseases of body and mind*; and such like fordid and miserable fancies, which are inculcated in many of the superstitious productions of this century, and particularly in the Epistles and other writings of Gregory the Great. Nothing more ridiculous on the one hand, than the solemnity and liberality with which this good, but silly, Pontiff, distributed the wonder-working relicks; and nothing more lamentable on the other, than the stupid eagerness and devotion with which the deluded multitude received them; and suffered themselves to be persuaded that a portion of stinking oil, taken from the lamps which burned at the tombs of the Martyrs, had a supernatural efficacy to sanctify its possessors, and to defend them from all dangers both of a temporal and spiritual nature (a).

It would be needless to expect, from the Divines of this century, an accurate view, or a clear and natural explanation,

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(2) It is the same at this day in Ireland, among the teachers of the Popish religion.

(a) See the *list of sacred oils*, which Gregory the Great sent to Queen Theudalinda, in the works of Ruinartus, intitled, *Acta Martyrum Sin. et Selecta*, p. 619.

on, of the Christian doctrine. The greatest part of them reasoned and disputed concerning the truths of the gospel, as the blind would argue about light and colours; and imagined that they had acquitted themselves nobly, when they had thrown out a heap of crude and indigested notions, and overwhelmed their adversaries with a torrent of words.

THEY who enforced the duties of Christianity, by exhibiting *examples* of piety and virtue to the view of those for whom their instructions were designed, wrote for this purpose, *the lives of the Saints*; and there was a considerable number of this kind of Biographers both among the Greeks and Latins. (b) But however pious the intentions of these Biographers may have been, it must be acknowledged, that they executed it in a most contemptible manner. No models of rational piety are to be found among those pretended worthies, whom they propose to Christians as objects of imitation. They amuse their readers with gigantic fables and trifling romances; the examples they exhibit are those of certain delirious *fanatics*, whom they call *Saints*; men of a corrupt and perverted judgment, who offered violence to reason and nature by the horrors of an extravagant austerity in their own conduct, and by the severity of those singular and inhuman rules which they prescribed to others. For, by what means were these men *fainted*? By starving themselves with a frantic obstinacy, and bearing the useless hardships of hunger, thirst, and inclement seasons

(b) Those who can believe the wonders related in their lives, as Bishop Newton observes, "must not only have faith to remove mountains, but to swallow mountains."

seasons with steadfastness and perseverance ; by running about the country like madmen in tattered garments and sometimes half naked, or shutting themselves up in a narrow space, where they continued motionless ; by standing for a long time in certain postures, with their eyes closed in the enthusiastic expectation of divine light. All this was Saint-like and glorious ; and the more that any ambitious fanatic departed from the dictates of reason and common-sense, and counterfeited the wild gestures and the incoherent conduct of an idiot, or a lunatic, the surer was his prospect of obtaining an eminent rank among the heroes and demi-gods of a corrupt and degenerate church. The smallest acquaintance with that rational religion, which is contained in the Gospel, will be sufficient to open the eyes of the impartial upon the absurdities of that chimerical devotion we have been describing.

CHAP. IV.

Concerning the Rites and Ceremonies used in the Church during this Century.

IN this century the cause of true religion sunk apace, and the gloomy reign of superstition extended itself in proportion to the decay of genuine piety. This lamentable decay was supplied by a multitude of rites and ceremonies. In the East the Nestorian and Eutychian controversies gave occasion to the invention of various rites and external institutions, which were used as marks to distinguish from each other the contending parties. The Western Churches were loaded with rites by Gregory the Great, who had a marvellous fecundity of genius in inventing, and an irresistible force of eloquence in recommending superstitious observances. Nor will this appear surprizing to those who know, that, in the opinion of this Pontiff, the words of the sacred writings were *images* of mysterious and invisible things; for such as embrace this chimerical system, will easily be led to express all the doctrines and precepts of religion by external rites and symbols. Gregory, indeed, is worthy of praise in this, that he did not pretend to force others to the observance of his inventions; though this perhaps, was as much owing to a want of power, as to a principle of moderation.

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THIS prodigious augmentation of rites and ceremonies rendered an augmentation of doctors and interpreters of these mysteries indispensably necessary. Hence a new kind of science arose, which had, for its object, the explication of these ceremonies, and the investigation of the causes and circumstances from whence they derived their origin. But the most of those who entered into these researches, never went to the fountain-head, to the true sources of these idle inventions. They endeavoured to seek their origin in reason and christianity; but in this they deceived themselves, or, at least, deluded others, and delivered to the world their own fancies, instead of letting them into the true causes of things. Had they been acquainted with the opinions and customs of remote antiquity, or studied the pontifical law of the Greeks and Romans, they had come at the true origin of many institutions, which were falsely looked upon as venerable and sacred.

THE public worship of God was as yet celebrated by every nation in its own language; but was enlarged, from time to time, by the addition of various hymns, and other things of that nature, which were considered as proper to enliven devotion by the power of novelty. Gregory the Great prescribed a new method of administering the Lord's Supper, with a magnificent assemblage of pompous ceremonies; this institution of his was called the *Canon of the Mass*; and, if any are unwilling to give it the name of a new appointment, they must, at least, acknowledge that it was a considerable augmentation of the ancient Canon for celebrating the Eucharist, and occasioned a remarkable change in the administration of that ordinance.

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Many ages, however, passed before this *Gregorian Canon* was adopted by all the Latin Churches. (c)

BAPTISM, except in cases of necessity, was administered only on great festivals. We omit mentioning, for the sake of brevity, the Litanies that were addressed to the Saints, the different sorts of supplications, the *stations*, or assemblies of Gregory, the forms of consecration, and other such institutions, which were contrived, in this century, to excite a species of external devotion, and to engage the outward senses in religious worship. An enquiry into these matters would of itself deserve to be made the subject of a separate work.

THERE was an incredible number of temples erected in honour of the Saints during this century both in the Eastern and Western provinces. The places set apart for public worship were already very numerous; but it was now that Christians first began to consider these sacred edifices, as the means of purchasing the favour and protection of the Saints; and to be persuaded that these departed Spirits defended and guarded against evils and calamities of every kind, the provinces, lands, cities, and villages, in which they were honoured with temples. The number of these temples was almost equalled by that of the festivals, which were now observed in the Christian Church, and many of which seem to have been instituted upon a Pagan model. To those that were celebrated in the preceding century, were now added the

(c) See Theod. Chr. Lilienthal, *de canone missæ Gregorianæ*.

the festival of the *purification of the Blessed Virgin*, invented with a design to remove the uneasiness of the Heathen Converts on account of the loss of their *Iupercalia*, or feasts of Pan, which had been formerly observed in the month of February, the festival of the *immaculate conception*, the day set apart to commemorate the birth of St. John, and others less worthy of mention.

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C H A P. I.

*Concerning the Prosperous Events which happened to the
Church during this Century.*

IN this century, the progress of Christianity was mightily accelerated both in the Eastern and Western hemispheres, and its divine light was diffused far and wide through the

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darkened nations. The Nestorians, who dwelt in *Syria*, *Persia*, and *India*, contributed much to its propagation in the East, by the zeal and diligence, the laborious efforts and indefatigable assiduity, with which they preached it to these fierce and barbarous nations, who lived in the remotest borders and deserts of *Asia*, and among whom, as we learn from authentic records, their ministry was crowned with remarkable success. It was by the labours of this sect, that the light of the Gospel first penetrated into the immense empire of *China*, about the year 637, when Jesuiabas of *Gadala* was at the head of the Nestorians, as will appear probable to those who look upon as genuine the famous Chinese monument, which was discovered at *Siganfu*, by the Jesuits during the last century. (a) Some, indeed, look upon this monument to be a mere forgery of the Jesuits, though, perhaps, without reason; there are, however, other unexceptionable proofs, that the Northern parts of *China*, even before this century, abounded

(a) This celebrated monument has been published and explained by several learned writers, particularly by Kircher, in his *China Illustrata*, p. 53; by Muller, in a treatise published at *Berlin* in 1672; by Eusebe Renaudot, in his *relations anciennes des Indes et de la Chine, de deux voyageurs Mahometans*, p. 228. 271. published at *Paris* in the year 1718, in 8vo.; and by Assemani *Biblioth. Orient. Clement. Vatican.* tom. iii. part II. cap. iv. f. 7. p. 538. We were promised a still more accurate edition of this famous monument by the learned Theoph. Sigified Bayer, the greatest proficient of this age in Chinese erudition; but his death has blasted our expectations. For my part, I see no reason to doubt of the genuineness of this monument, nor can I understand what advantage could redound to the Jesuits from the invention of such a fable. See Liron, *Singularités Historiques et Littéraires*, tom. ii. p. 500.

abounded with Christians, who, for many succeeding ages, were under the inspection of a Metropolitan sent them by the Chaldean or Nestorian Patriarch. (b)

THE attention and activity of the Greeks were so entirely occupied by their intestine divisions, that they were little solicitous about the progress of Christianity. In the West, Augustin laboured to extend the limits of the Church, and to spread the light of the Gospel among the Anglo-Saxons; and, after his death, other Monks were sent from Rome to exert themselves in the same glorious cause. Their efforts were attended with the desired success, and the efficacy of their la-

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(b) See Renaudot, l. c. p. 56, 68, &c. Assemani Biblioth. &c. cap. ix. p. 522; the learned Bayer, in his Preface to his *Museum Sinicum*, p. 84. assures us, that he has in his hands such proofs of the truth of what is here affirmed, as puts the matter beyond all doubt. See on this subject a very learned dissertation published by M. de Guignes, in the xxxth vol. of the *Memoires de Litterature tirés des Registres de l'Academie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, in which he proves, that the Christians were settled in China so early as the viith century. He remarks, indeed, that the Nestorians and other Christians were for a long time confounded, in the Chinese annals, with the worshippers of Fo an Indian Idol, whose rites were introduced into China about 65 years after the Birth of Christ; and that this circumstance has deceived *De la Croze*, *Beausobre*, and some other learned men, who have raised specious objections against the hypothesis that maintains the early introduction of Christianity into this great empire. A reader, properly informed, will lend little or no attention to the account given of this matter by Voltaire in the first volume of his *Essai sur l'Histoire Generale*, &c. A Poet, who recounts facts or denies them without deigning to produce his authorities, must not expect to meet with the credit that is due to an Historian,

bours was manifested in the conversion of the six Anglo-Saxon Kings, who had hitherto remained under the darkness of the ancient superstitions, to the Christian faith, which gained ground by degrees, and was, at length, embraced universally throughout all *Britain*. (c) We are not, however, to imagine, that this universal change in favour of Christianity was wholly due to the discourses of the Roman Monks and Doctors; for other causes were certainly instrumental in accomplishing this great event. And it is not to be doubted, that the influence which some Christian Queens and Ladies of high distinction had upon their husbands, and the pains they took to convert them to Christianity, as also the severe and rigorous laws that were afterwards enacted against idolatry, (d) contributed much to the progress of the Gospel.

MANY of the British, Scotch, and Irish Ecclesiastics travelled among the Batavian, Belgic, and German nations, with the pious intention of propagating the knowledge of the truth, and of erecting churches and forming religious establishments every where. This was the true reason which induced the Germans, in after times, to found so many convents for the Scotch and Irish, of which some are yet in being. (e) Columban, an Irish Monk, seconded by the labours of a few

(c) Bedæ *Historia Ecclesiast. Gentis Anglor.* lib. ii. cap. iii. p. 91. cap. xiv. p. 116. lib. iii. cap. xxi. p. 162, &c. edit. Chifflet. Rapiu Thoyras, tom. i. p. 227.

(d) Wilkins's *Concilia Magnæ Britanniae*, tom. i. p. 222.

(e) See the *Acta Sanctorum. Ordinis Benedicti*, tom. ii. p. 560.

a few companions, had happily extirpated, in the preceding century, the ancient superstitions in Gaul, and the parts adjacent, where idolatry had taken the deepest root; he also carried the lamp of celestial truth among the Suevi, the Boii, the Franks, and other German nations, (f) and persevered in these pious and useful labours until his death, which happened A. D. 615. These voyages, and many others, undertaken in the cause of Christ, carry no doubt, a specious appearance of piety and zeal; but the impartial and attentive inquirer after truth will find it impossible to form the same favourable judgment of them all, or to applaud, without distinction, the motives that animated these laborious missionaries. That the designs of some of them were truly pious, and their characters without reproach, is unquestionably certain. But it is equally certain, that this was neither the case of them all, nor even of the greatest part of them. Many of them discovered, in the course of their ministry, the most turbulent passions, and dishonoured the glorious cause in which they were engaged, by their arrogance and ambition, their avarice and cruelty. They abused the power which they had received from the Roman Pontiffs, of forming religious establishments among the superstitious nations; and, instead of gaining souls to Christ, they usurped a despotic dominion over their obsequious profelytes; and exercised a princely authority over the countries where their ministry had been successful. Nor are we

(f) Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ordinis Benedicti*, tom. ii. p. 60. tom. iii. p. 72, 339, 500. Adamani lib. iii. *de S. Columbano*, in *Canisii Lecton. Antiq.* tom. i. p. 674.

we to consider as entirely groundless, the suspicions of those who alledge, that many of the Monks, desirous of rule and authority, concealed their vices under the mask of religion, and endured, for a certain time, the austerities of a rigid mortification and abstinence, merely with a view to rise in the Church to the Episcopal dignity.

THE conversion of the Jews seemed at a stand in this century; few or none of that obstinate nation embraced the Gospel in consequence of an inward conviction of its truth, though in many places they were barbarously compelled, by the Christians, to make an outward and feigned profession of their faith in Christ. The Emperor Heraclius, incensed against that miserable people by the insinuations, as it is said, of the Christian Doctors, persecuted them in a cruel manner, and ordered multitudes of them to be inhumanly dragged into the Christian Churches, in order to be baptized by violence and compulsion. (g) The same odious method of converting was preached in *Spain* and *Gaul*, by the Monarchs of those nations, against which even the Bishops of *Rome* expressed their displeasure and indignation. Such were the horrid and abominable practices to which an ignorance of the true spirit of Christianity, and the barbarous genius of this age, led the heralds of that divine religion, which was designed to spread abroad charity upon earth, and to render mankind truly and rationally free.

(g) Eutychii Annales Ecclesiast. Alexandr. tom. ii. p. 212.

C H A P. II.

Concerning the Calamitous Events that happened to the Church during this Century.

THE Christians suffered less in this, than in the preceding centuries. They were sometimes persecuted by the Persian Monarchs, but still recovered their former tranquillity after transitory scenes of violence and oppression. In *England*, the new converts to Christianity suffered various calamities under the petty Kings, who governed in those boisterous times; but these Kings embraced the Gospel themselves, and then the sufferings of the Christians ceased. In the Eastern countries, and particularly in *Syria* and *Palæstine*, the Jews, at certain times, attacked the Christians with a merciless fury; (h) but, however, with so little success, that they always had reason to repent of their temerity, which was severely chastised. It is true, the Church had other enemies, even those, who, under the treacherous profession of Christianity, were laying secret schemes for the restoration of Paganism; but they were too weak and too inconsiderable to form any attempts that could endanger the Christian cause.

BUT a new and most powerful enemy to the Christian cause started up in *Arabia* A. D. 612, under the reign of Heraclius.

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(h) Eutychii *Annales*, tom. ii. p. 236. Jo. Henr. Hottingeri, *Hist. Asia Orientalis*, lib. 1. cap. iii. p. 129.

This was Mahomet, an illiterate man (i), but endowed by nature with the most flowing and attractive eloquence, and with a vast and penetrating genius (i), distinguished also by the advantages he enjoyed from the place of his birth, which added a lustre to his name and his undertakings. This adventurous impostor declared publicly, that he was commissioned, by God, to destroy polytheism and idolatry, and then to reform, first the religion of the Arabians, and afterwards the Jewish and Christian worship. For these purposes he delivered a new law, which is known by the name of Koran (k), or *Alcoran*; and having gained several victories over

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(i) Mahomet himself expressly declared, that he was totally ignorant of all branches of learning and science, and was even unable either to read or write: and his followers have drawn from this ignorance an argument in favour of the divinity of his mission, and of the religion he taught. It is, however, scarcely credible, that his ignorance was such as it is here described, and several of his sect have called in question the declarations of their chief relating to this point. See Chardin, *Voyages en Perse*, tom. iv. p. 33, 34. If we consider that Mahomet carried on, for a considerable time, a successful commerce in Arabia, and the adjacent countries, this alone will convince us, that he must have been in some measure, instructed in the arts of reading, writing and arithmetic, with the knowledge of which a Merchant cannot dispense.

(i) The writers, to whom we are indebted for accounts of the life and religion of Mahomet, are enumerated by Fabricius, in his *Delatus et Syllabus argumentor. pro veritate relig. Christianæ*, cap. I. p. 733. To which we may add, Boulainvilliers, *Vie de Mahomet*, published in London, in 8vo, in the year 1730, and which deserves rather the character of a romance than of a history: Gagnier, *Vie de Mahomet*, printed at Amsterdam, in 2 vol. 8vo. in 1732, and commendable both for the learning and candour with which it appears to have been composed; and, above all, the most learned and judicious Sale's *Preliminary discourse*, prefixed to his *English translation of the Koran*, l. 2. p. 37.

(k) For an account of the *Koran*, see principally the learned Sale's Preface to his English translation of that work. See also Vertot's

Discourse

his enemies, he compelled an incredible multitude of persons both in *Arabia* and the neighbouring nations, to receive his doctrine, and range themselves under his standards. Elated with this rapid and unexpected success, he extended yet further his ambitious views, and formed the vast and arduous project of founding an empire. Here again, success crowned his adventurous efforts; and his plan was executed with such intrepidity and impudence, that he died master of all *Arabia*, besides several adjacent Provinces.

THE rapid success, which attended the propagation of this new religion, was owing to causes that are plain and evident, and must remove, or rather prevent, our surprize, when they are attentively considered. The terror of Mahomet's arms, and the repeated victories which were gained by him and his successors, were, no doubt, the irresistible argument that persuaded such multitudes to embrace his religion, and, submit to his dominion. Besides, his law was artfully and marvelously adapted to the corrupt nature of man; and in a more particular manner, to the manners and opinions of the Eastern nations, and the vices to which they were naturally

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addicted;

Discours sur l'Alcoran, which is subjoined to the third Volume of his *History of the Knights of Malta*, and Chardin's *Voyages en Perse*, tom. ii. p. 281. The book, which the Mahometans call the *Koran*, or *Alcoran*, is composed of several papers and discourses of Mahomet, which were discovered and collected after his death, and is by no means that same *law*, whose excellence Mahomet vaunted so highly. That some parts of the true *Koran* may be copied in the modern one, is indeed possible; but that the *Koran*, or *law*, given by Mahomet to the Arabians, is entirely distinct from the modern *Alcoran*, is manifest from this, that in the latter, Mahomet appeals to and extols the former, and therefore they must be two different compositions.

addicted; for the articles of faith which it proposed were few in number, and extremely simple; and the duties it required were neither many, nor difficult, nor such as were incompatible with the empire of appetites and passions (l). It is to be observed further, that the gross ignorance, under which the Arabians, Syrians, Persians, and the greatest part of the Eastern nations laboured at this time, rendered many an easy prey to the artifice and eloquence of this bold adventurer. To these causes of the progress of Mahometism, we may add the bitter dissensions and cruel animosities that reigned among the Christian sects, particularly the Greeks, Nestorians, Eutychians, and Monophysites, dissensions that filled a great part of the East with carnage, assassinations, and such detestable enormities, as rendered the very name of Christianity odious to many. Other causes of the sudden progress of that religion, will naturally occur to such as consider attentively its spirit and genius, and the state of the world at this time (m).

AFTER the death of Mahomet which happened A. D. 632, his followers, led on by an amazing intrepidity, and fanatical fury, extended their conquests beyond the limits of *Arabia*, and subdued *Syria*, *Persia*, *Egypt*, and other countries under their dominion.

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(l) See Reland, *de religione Mahumetica*, Sale's *Preliminary discourse*.

(m) See Ockley's *Conquest of Syria, Persia, and Egypt by the Saracens*, the first part of which was published at London 1708, and the second in 1717.

THE progress, however, of this triumphant sect received a considerable check by the civil dissensions which arose among them immediately after the death of Mahomet. Abubeker and Ali, the former the father-in-law, and the latter the son-in-law of this pretended Prophet, aspired both to succeed him in the empire which he had erected. Upon this arose a tedious and cruel contest, whose flame reached to succeeding ages, and produced that schism, which divided the Mahometans into two great factions, whose separation not only gave rise to a variety of opinions and rites, but also excited the most implacable hatred, and the most deadly animosities. Of these factions, the one acknowledged Abubeker as the true *calif*, or successor of Mahomet, and its members were distinguished by the name of Sunnites; while the other adhered to Ali, and were known by the title of Shiites (n). Both however adhered to the Alcoran as a divine law, and the rule of faith and manners; to which indeed, the former added, by way of interpretation, the *Sonna*, i. e. a certain law which they looked upon as descended from Mahomet by oral tradition, and which the Shiites refused to admit. Among the Sunnites, or followers of Abubeker, we are to reckon the Turks, Tartars, Arabians, Africans, and the greater part of the the Indian Mahometans; whereas the Persians and the subjects of the Grand Mogul are generally considered as the followers of Ali; though the latter indeed seem rather to observe a strict neutrality in this contest.

(n) See Reland, *De religione Turcica*, lib. i. p. 56. 70. 74. 85. Charadin's *Voyage en Perse*, tom. ii. p. 236.

BESIDES these two grand factions, there are other subordinate sects among the Mahometans, which dispute with warmth concerning several points of religion, though without violating the rules of mutual toleration (o). Of these sects there are four, which far surpass the rest in point of reputation and importance.


(o) For an account of the Mahometan sects, see Hottinger, *Hist. Orient.* lib. ii. cap. vi. p. 340 Ricaut, *Etat de l'Empire Ottoman*, livr. ii. p. 242. Chardin's *Voyages en Perse*, tom. ii. p. 263. Sale's Preliminary Discourse, f. 8, p. 151.

C H A P. III.

Concerning the Doctors and Ministers of the Church, and its form of Government, during this Century.

THE disputes about pre-eminence, that had so long subsisted between the Bishops of *Rome* and *Constantinople*, proceeded in this century, to such violent lengths, as laid the foundations of that deplorable schism, which afterwards separated the Greek and Latin Churches. The most learned writers, and those who are most remarkable for their knowledge of antiquity, are generally agreed that Boniface III. engaged Phocas, that abominable tyrant, who waded to the imperial throne through the blood of the Emperor Mauritius, to take from the Bishop of *Constantinople* the title of *œcumenical* or *Universal Bishop*, and to confer it upon the Pontiff. They relate this, however, upon the sole authority of Baronius; for none of the ancient writers have mentioned it. If, indeed, we are to give credit to Anastasius and Paul Deacon (p), something like what we have now related was transacted by Phocas; for when the Bishops of *Constantinople* maintained that their Church was not only equal in dignity and authority to that of *Rome*, but also the head of all the Christian Churches, this tyrant opposed their pretensions, and granted the

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(p) Anastasius, *De vitis Pontificum*. Paul diacon. *De rebus gestis Longobard.* lib. iv. cap. xxxvii. in Muratorii *Scriptor. rerum Italicar.* tom. i. p. 46.  What became of the authority of St. Peter before this period?

pre-eminence to the Church of *Rome*: and thus was the papal supremacy first introduced.

THE Roman Pontiffs used all sorts of methods to maintain and enlarge the authority and pre-eminence which they had acquired by this grant from the most odious tyrant that ever disgraced the annals of History. We find, however, in the most authentic accounts of the transactions of this century, that not only several Emperors and Princes, but also whole nations, opposed the ambitious views of the Bishops of *Rome*. The Byzantine history, and the *Formulary* of Marculfus, contain many proofs of the influence, which the civil magistrate yet retained in religious matters, and of the subordination of the Roman Pontiffs to the regal authority. It is true, the Roman writers affirm, that Constantine Pogonatus abdicated the privilege of confirming by his approbation, the election of the Bishop of that City; and, as a proof of this, they allege a passage of Anastasius, in which it is said, that, according to an edict of Pogonatus, *the Pontiff, who should be elected, was to be ordained immediately, and without the least delay* (q). But every one must see, that this passage is insufficient to prove what these writers assert with such confidence. It is however certain, that this Emperor abated, some say remitted, the sum, which, since the time of Theodoric, the Bishops of *Rome* had been obliged to pay to the imperial treasury

(q) Anastasii *vit. Pontif. in Basil.* p. 116. in Muratorii *Scriptor. eccl. Basilic.* tom. iii.

fury before they could be ordained, or have their election confirmed (r).

THE ancient Britons and Scots persisted long in the maintenance of their religious liberty; and neither the threats nor promises of the legates of *Rome* could engage them to submit to the decrees and authority of the ambitious Pontiff, as appears manifestly from the testimony of Bede. The Churches of *Gaul* and *Spain* attributed as much authority to the Bishop of *Rome*, as they thought suitable to their own dignity, and consistent with their interests; nay, even in *Italy*, his supreme authority was obstinately rejected, since the Bishop of *Ravenna*, and other Prelates, refused an implicit submission to his orders (s). Besides all this, multitudes of private persons expressed publicly, and without the least hesitation, their abhorrence of the vices, and particularly of the lordly ambition, of the Roman Pontiffs; and it is highly probable, that the Waldenses or Vaudois had already, in this century, retired into the Vallies of *Fiedmont*, that they might be more at liberty to oppose the tyranny of those imperious Prelates (t).

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(r) *Anastas. vit. Pontif. in Agathone. p. 144.* compared with *Masco-vii Hist. German. tom. ii. p. 121.* in the annotations. It will not be amiss to observe here, that by the same edict, which diminished the ordination-money paid by the Bishop of *Rome* to the Emperor, *Constantine* resumed the power of confirming the election of the Pope, which his predecessors had invested in the exarchs of *Ravenna*; so that the Bishop elect was not to be ordained till his election was notified to the Court of *Constantinople*, and the imperial decree confirming it was received by the electors at *Rome*. See *Anastatius*, in his life of *Agatho*.

(s) See *Geddes, Miscellaneous Tracts, tom. ii. p. 6.*

(t) See *Antoine Leger's Histoire des Eglises Vaudoises, livr. i. p. 15.*

THE progress of vice among the subordinate rulers and ministers of the Church was, at this time truly deplorable; neither Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons, nor even the cloistered Monks, were exempt from the general contagion, as appears from the unanimous confession of all the writers of this century, that are worthy of credit. In those very places that were consecrated to the advancement of piety, and the service of God, there was little else to be seen than ghostly ambition, insatiable avarice, pious frauds, intolerable pride, and a supercilious contempt of the natural rights of the people, with many other vices still more enormous. There reigned also in many places the most bitter dissensions between the Bishops and Monks. The former had employed the greedy hands of the latter to augment the Episcopal treasure, and to draw contributions from all parts to support them in their luxury, and the indulgence of their lusts. The Monks perceiving this, and also unwilling to serve the Bishops in such a dishonourable character, fled for refuge to the Emperors and Princes, under whose civil jurisdiction they lived; and afterwards, for their further security, had recourse to the protection of the Roman Pontiff. (u) This protection they readily obtained, and the imperious Pontiffs, always fond of exerting their authority, exempted, by degrees, the Monastic Orders from the jurisdiction of the Bishops. The Monks, in return for this important service, devoted them-

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(u) See Launoii *Affertio inquisitionis in Claram Immunitatis S. Germani*, Opp. tom. iii. part i. p. 50. Baluzii *Miscellaneæ*, tom. ii. p. 159. tom. iv. p. 108. Muratorii *Antiquæ Italicæ*, tom. ii. p. 944; 949.

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elves wholly to advance the interests, and to maintain the dignity of the Bishop of *Rome*. They made his cause their own, and represented him as a sort of God to the ignorant multitude, over whom they had gained a prodigious ascendant by the notion that generally prevailed of the sanctity of the Monastic Order. It is, at the same time, to be observed, that this *immunity* of the Monks was a fruitful source of licentiousness and disorder, and occasioned the greatest part of the vices with which they were afterwards so justly charged. Such, at least, is the judgment of the best writers upon this subject. (w)

In the mean time the Monks were every where in high repute, and their cause was accompanied with the most surprizing success, particularly among the Latins, through the protection and favour of the Roman Pontiff, and their pharisaical affectation of uncommon piety and devotion. The heads of families, striving to surpass each other in their zeal for the propagation and advancement of Monkery, dedicated their children to God by shutting them up in convents, and devoting them to a solitary life, which they looked upon as the highest felicity; (x) nor did they fail to send with these innocent victims a rich dowry. Abandoned profligates, who had passed their days in the most enormous pursuits, and whose guilty consciences filled them with terror and remorse, were comforted with the delusive hopes of obtaining pardon,

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(w) *Sec Launoi Examen privilegii S. Cermani*, tom. iii. part i. p. 282. Wilkins's *Concilia Magnæ Britanniae*, tom. i. p. 43, 44, 49, &c.

(x) *Cervais, Histoire de l'Abbé Suger*, tom. i. p. 9—16.

and making atonement for their crimes, by leaving the greatest part of their fortune to some Monastic society. Multitudes, impelled by the unnatural dictates of a gloomy superstition, deprived their children of fertile lands and rich patrimonies, in favour of the Monks, by whose prayers they hoped to render the Deity propitious. Several Ecclesiastics laid down rules for the direction of the Monastic Orders. Those among the Latins, who undertook this pious task, were Fructuosus, Isidore, Johannes, Gerundinensis, and Columba. (y) The rule of discipline, prescribed by St. Benedict, was not as yet so universally followed as to exclude all others.

(y) Lucæ Holstenii *Codex Regular*, tom. ii. p. 225.

C H A P. IV.

Concerning the Doctrine of the Christian Church in this Century.

IN this barbarous age, religion lay expiring under a motley and enormous heap of superstitious inventions, and had neither the courage nor the force to raise her head, or to display her native charms, to a darkened and deluded world. In the earlier periods of the Church, the worship of Christians was confined to the one Supreme God, and his Son Jesus Christ; but the Christians of this century multiplied the objects of their devotion, and paid homage to the remains of the true cross, to the images of the saints, and to bones, whose real owners were extremely dubious. (z) The primitive Christians, in

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(z) It will not be amiss to quote here a remarkable passage out of the Life of St. Eligius or Eloi, Bishop of Noyon, which is to be found in Dacherius's *Spicilegium veter. Scriptor.* tom. ii. p. 92. This passage, which is very proper to give us a just idea of the piety of this age, is as follows: "Huic sanctissimo viro inter cetera virtutum suarum miracula id etiam a domino concessum erat, ut Sanctorum martyrum corpora, quæ per tot sæcula abolita populis hætenus habebantur." It appears by this passage that St. Eloi was a zealous relick-hunter, and if we may give credit to the writer of his life, he was very successful at this kind of game; for he smelt and unkennelled the carcases of St. Quintin, St. Plato, St. Crispin, St. Crispinian, St. Lucian, and many more. The Bishops of this age, who were either ambitiously desirous of popular applause, or intent upon accumulating riches and filling their coffers with the oblations of a superstitious people, pretended to be endowed with a miraculous sagacity in discovering the bodies of Saints and Martyrs.

order to excite men to a course of piety and virtue, set before them that heavenly state, and those mansions of misery which the gospel has revealed as the different portions of the righteous and the wicked: while the Christians of this century talked of nothing else but a certain fire, which effaced the stains of vice, and purified souls from their corruption. The *former* taught that Christ, by his sufferings and death, had made atonement for the sins of mortals; the *latter* seemed, by their superstitious doctrine to exclude from the kingdom of heaven, such as had not contributed, by their offerings to augment the riches of the Clergy, or the Church. (a) The *former* were only studious to attain to a virtuous simplicity of life and manners, and employed their principal zeal and diligence in the

(a) St. Eligius, or Eloi, expresses himself upon this matter, in the following manner; “ Bonus Christianus est, qui ad ecclesiam frequenter venit, et oblationem, quæ in altari Deo offeratur, exhibet; qui de fructibus suis non gustat, nisi prius Deo aliquid offerat; qui, quoties Sanctæ Solemnitates adveniunt, ante dies plures castitatem etiam cum propria uxore custodit, ut se cura conscientia Domini altare accedere possit; qui postremo Symbolum vel orationem Dominicam memoriter tenet—Redimite animas vestras de pœna, dum habetis in potestate remedia—oblationes et decimas ecclesiis offerte, luminaria sanctis locis, juxta quod habetis, exhibete—ad ecclesiam quoque frequentius convenite, Sanctorum patrocinia humiliter expetite—quod si observaveritis, securi in die judicii ante tribunal æterni judicis venientes dicetis: Da, Domine quia dedimus:” We see here a large and ample description of the character of a good Christian, in which there is not the least mention of the *love of God, resignation to his will, obedience to his laws, or of justice, benevolence, and charity* towards men; and in which the whole of religion is made to consist in *coming often to Church, bringing offerings to the Altar, lighting Candles* in consecrated places, and such like vain services.

the culture of true and genuine piety ; while the *latter* placed the whole of religion in external rites and bodily exercises. The methods also of solving the difficulties, and dissipating the doubts, that often arose in inquisitive minds, were of a piece with the rest of the superstitious system that now prevailed. The two great and irresistible arguments against all doubts, were *the authority of the Church, and the working of Miracles* : and the production of these prodigies required no extraordinary degree of dexterity in an age of such gross and universal ignorance.

PHILOSOPHY and Theology had scarcely any remains of life, any marks of existence among the Latins, the Greeks were wholly occupied with controversies about certain particular branches of religion, and never once thought of reducing all the doctrines of Christianity into one regular and rational system. It is true, Antiochus, a Monk of *Palestine*, composed a short summary of the Christian doctrine, which he intitled, *The pandect of the Holy Scriptures*. It is, however, easy to perceive what sort of an author he was, how void of dignity and true judgment, from many circumstances, and particularly, from that rueful poem which is subjoined to his work, in which he deploras, in lamentable strains, the loss of that precious fragment of the true cross, which is said to have been carried away by the Persians, among other spoils. The most elegant and judicious summary of theology that appeared among the Latins in this century, was the *Treatise of Ildefonse de cognitione baptismi*, which was saved, by Baluzius, from the ruins of time ; a work, indeed, which

which is not extremely necessary, since the ignoble frauds of superstition have been so fully brought to light, though it contains remarkable proofs, that many of the corrupt additions and inventions, which disfigure Christianity in the Popish Churches, were not contrived till after this period. (b)

THE moral writers of this century, and their miserable productions, shew too plainly to what a wretched state that noble and important science was now reduced. What rubbish, what an heap of superstitious fancies, and how many marks of extravagance, perplexity, and doubt? Besides; the *laity* had little reason to complain of the severity of their moral conductors, whose custom it was to reduce all the obligations of Christianity to the practice of a small number of virtues, as appears from Aldhelm's *Treatise concerning the eight principal virtues*. Nor was the neglect of these duties attended with such penalties as were proper to restrain offenders. The false notions also, which prevailed in this age, tended much to diminish a just sense of the nature and obligations of virtue; for the solitude of the Monastic life, though accompanied with

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(b) See Baiuzii *Miscellanea*, tom. vi. p. i. From the work of Ildefonsus, it appears evident, that the monstrous doctrine of *Transubstantiation* was absolutely unknown to the Latins in this century. See C. 137. p. 99. that the Holy Scriptures were in the hands of all Christians, and were perused by them without the least molestation or restraint, c. 80. p. 59. Ildefonsus, it is true, is zealous in banishing reason and philosophy from religious matters; he however establishes the *Holy Scriptures*, and the *Writings of the ancient Doctors* as the Supreme Tribunals, before which all theological opinions are to be tried, p. 14, 22.

no marks of solid and genuine piety, was deemed sufficient to atone for all sorts of crimes, and was therefore honoured among the Latins with the title of the *Second Baptism*, which circumstance alone may serve to shew us the miserable state of Christianity at this time.

As to the dissensions of the Catholic Christians among themselves, they produced, at this time, few or no events worthy of mention. We shall, therefore, only observe, that in this century were sown the seeds of those fatal discords, which rent asunder the bonds of Christian communion between the Greek and Latin Churches; nay, these seeds had already taken root in the minds of the Greeks, to whom the Roman power became insupportable, and the pretensions of the Sovereign Pontiff odious.

In *Britain*, warm controversies concerning baptism, the tonsure, and particularly the famous dispute concerning the time of celebrating the Easter festival, were carried on between the ancient Britons and the new Converts to Christianity, which Augustin had made among the Anglo-Saxons, (c) and which were entirely terminated, in the eighth century, in favour of the Anglo-Saxons by the Benedictine Monks. (d)

(c) *Cummani Epistola* in Jac. Usserii *Sylloge Epistolar. Hibernicar.* p. 23. Bedæ *Historia Ecclesiast. gentis Anglor.* lib. iii. cap. xxv.

(d) Mabillon, *Præf. ad Sæc. iii. Benedictinum*, p. 2. See also Dr. Warner's *Ecclesiast. Hist.* book iii.

CHAP. V.

Concerning the Rites and Ceremonies used in the Church during this Century.

IN the Council of *Constantinople*, which was called *Quinsextum*, (e) the Greeks enacted several laws concerning the ceremonies that were to be observed in divine worship, which rendered their ritual, in some respects, different from that of the Romans. These laws were publicly received by all the Churches, which were established in the dominions of the Grecian Emperors ; and also by those which were joined with them in communion and doctrine, though under the civil jurisdiction of Barbarian Princes. Nor was this all : for every Roman Pontiff added something new to the ancient rites and institutions, as if it was an essential mark of their zeal for religion, and of their pious discharge of the Ministerial function, to divert the multitude with new shews and new spectacles of devout innumery. These superstitious inventions were, in the time of Charlemagne, propagated from *Rome* among the Latin Churches, whose subjection to the ritual was necessary to satisfy the ambitious demands of the lordly Pontiff.

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(e) This council was called *Quinsextum*, from its being considered as a supplement to the fifth and sixth councils of *Constantinople*, in which nothing had been decreed concerning the morals of Christians, or religious ceremonies.

It will not be improper to select here a few out of the many instances we could produce of the multiplication of religious rites in this century. The number of festivals, under which the Church already groaned, was now augmented; a new festival was instituted in honour of the true cross on which Christ suffered, and another in commemoration of the Saviour's ascension into Heaven. Boniface V. enacted that infamous law, by which the Churches became places of refuge to all who fled thither for protection; a law which procured a sort of impunity to the most enormous crimes, and gave a loose rein to the licentiousness of the most abandoned profligates. Honorius employed all his diligence and zeal in embellishing Churches, and other consecrated places with the most pompous and magnificent ornaments; for as neither Christ, nor his Apostles had left any injunctions of this nature to their followers, their pretended Vicar thought it but just to supply this defect by the most splendid display of his ostentatious beneficence. We shall pass in silence the riches and variety of the sacerdotal garments that were now used at the celebration of the Eucharist, and in the performance of divine worship, as this would lead us into a tedious detail of minute and unimportant matters.

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CHAP. I.

*Concerning the Calamitous Events which happened to the Church
during this Century.*

THE Eastern Empire had now fallen from its former strength and grandeur, through the repeated shocks of dreadful revolutions, and the consuming power of intestine calamities.

calamities. The throne was now become the seat of terror, inquietude, and suspicion; nor was any reign attended with an uninterrupted tranquillity. In this century three Emperors were dethroned, loaded with ignominy, and sent into banishment. Under Leo the Isaurian, and his son Constantine, surnamed Copronymus, arose that fatal controversy about the worship of images, which proved a source of innumerable calamities and troubles, and weakened, almost incredibly, the force of the empire. These troubles and dissensions left the Saracens at liberty to ravage the provinces of *Asia* and *Africa*, to oppress the Greeks in the most barbarous manner, and to extend their territories and dominion on all sides, as also to oppose every where the progress of Christianity, and, in some places, to extirpate it entirely. But the troubles of the empire, and the calamities of the Church, did not end here: for about the middle of this century, they were assailed by new enemies, still more fierce and inhuman than those whose usurpations they had hitherto suffered. These were the Turks, a tribe of the Tartars, or at least their descendants, who, breaking forth from the inaccessible wilds about Mount *Caucasus*, overspread *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania*, rushed from thence into *Armenia*, and, after having subdued the Saracens, turned their victorious arms against the Greeks, whom, in process of time, they reduced under their dominion.

In the year 714, the Saracens crossed the sea, which separates *Spain* from *Africa*, dispersed the army of Roderic

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King of the Spanish Goths, (f) whose defeat was principally due to the treachery of their general Julian, and made themselves masters of the greatest part of the territories of this vanquished Prince. About the same time the Empire of the Visigoths, which had subsisted in *Spain* above three hundred years, was totally overturned by these fierce and savage invaders, who also took possession of all the Maritime coasts of *Gaul* from the Pyrenean Mountains to the River *Rhone*, from whence they made frequent excursions, and ravaged the neighbouring countries with fire and sword.

THE rapid progress of these bold invaders was, indeed, checked by Charles Martel, who gained a signal victory over them in a bloody action near the city of *Poitiers* A. D. 732.

(g) But the vanquished spoilers soon recovered their strength and their ferocity, and returned with new violence to their devastations. This engaged Charlemagne to lead a formidable army into *Spain*, with a design to deliver that whole country from the oppressive yoke of the Saracens: but this grand enterprize, though it did not entirely miscarry, was not, however, attended with the signal success that was expected from it. (h) The inroads of this warlike people were

(f) Jo. Mariana, *Rerum Hispanicarum*, lib. vi. cap. xxi. Eusebe Renaudot. *Historia Patriarch. Alexandrin.* p. 253. Jo. De Ferreras, *Histoire de l'Espagne*, tom. ii. p. 425.

(g) Paulus Diaconus, *De gestis Longobard.* lib. vi. cap. xlvi. lili. Jo. Mariana, *Rerum Hispan.* lib. vii. cap. iii. Bayle's *Dictionary*, at the article Abderamus, Ferreras, *Hist. d'Espagne*, tom. ii. p. 465.

(h) Henr. de Bunau, *Teutsche Kayser—und Reich's Historie*, tom. ii. p. 392. Ferreras, *Hist. d'Espagne*, tom. ii. p. 506.

were felt by many of the Western Provinces, besides those of *France* and *Spain*. Several parts of *Italy* suffered from their incursions; the *Island* of *Sardinia* was reduced under their yoke; and *Sicily* was ravaged and oppressed by them in the most inhuman manner. Hence the Christian Religion in *Spain* and *Sardinia* suffered inexpressibly under these violent usurpers.

IN *Germany*, and the adjacent countries, the Christians were assailed by another sort of enemies; for all such as adhered to the Pagan superstitions beheld them with the most unrelenting violence and fury. (i) Hence, in several places, castles and fortresses were erected to restrain the incursions of these Barbarian Zealots.

(i) *Servati Lupi, vita Wigberti, p. 304.*

CHAP. II.

Concerning the Doctors and Ministers of the Church, and its forms of Government, during this Century.

THE corruption of manners, which dishonoured the Clergy in the former century, increased, instead of diminishing, in this, and discovered itself under the most odious characters, both in the Eastern and Western Provinces. In the East there arose the most violent dissensions and quarrels among the Bishops and Doctors of the Church, who, forgetting the duties of their stations, and the cause of Christ in which they were engaged, threw the state into combustion by their outrageous clamours, and their scandalous divisions; and even went so far as to embrue their hands in the blood of their brethren who differed from them in opinion. In the Western world, Christianity was not less disgraced by the lives and actions of those who pretended to be the luminaries of the Church, and who ought to have been so in reality by exhibiting examples of piety and virtue to their flock. The Clergy abandoned themselves to their passions without moderation or restraint: they were distinguished by their luxury, their gluttony, and their lust; they gave themselves up to dissipations of various kinds, to the pleasures of hunting, and, what was still more remote from their sacred character, to military studies, (k) and enterprizes. They had also so far
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(k) Steph. Baluzius, *ad Reginon. Prumiensem*, p. 563. Wilkins's *Concilii Magnæ Britanniae*, tom. i. p. 99.

extinguished every principle of fear and shame, that they became incorrigible ; nor could the various laws enacted against their vices by Carloman, Pepin, and Charlemagne at all contribute to set bounds to their licentiousness, or to bring about their reformation. (1)

It is, indeed, amazing, that, notwithstanding the shocking nature of such vices, especially in a set of men whose profession obliged them to display to the world the attracting lustre of virtuous example ; and notwithstanding the perpetual troubles and complaints which these vices occasioned ; the Clergy were still held, corrupt as they were, in the highest veneration, and were honoured as a sort of deities, by the submissive multitude. This veneration, for the Bishops and Clergy, and the influence and authority it gave them over the people, were, indeed, carried much higher in the West than in the Eastern Provinces ; and the reasons of this difference will appear manifest to such as consider the customs and manners that prevailed among the barbarous nations, which were, at this time, masters of *Europe*, before their conversion to Christianity. All these nations, during their continuance under the darkness of paganism, were absolutely enslaved to their Priests, without whose counsel and authority they transacted nothing of the least importance, either in civil or military affairs (m). Upon their conversion to Christianity, they, therefore,

(1) Steph. Baluz. *Capitular. regum Francor.* tom. ii. p. 189. 208, 275, 493, &c.

(m) Julius Cæsar, *De bello Gallico*, lib. v. c. 13. "Druides
"magno sunt apud eos honore : nam fere de omnibus controver-
"sus,

therefore, thought proper to transfer to the Ministers of their new religion, the rights and privileges of their former Priests: and the Christian Bishops, in their turn, were not only ready to accept the offer, but used all their diligence and dexterity to secure and assert to themselves, and their successors the do-

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“*sus, publicis privatisque, constituunt; et, si quod est admis-*
 “*sum facinus, si cædes facta, si de hæreditate, si de finibus con-*
 “*troversia est, iidem decernunt, præmia, poenasque constituunt:*
 “*si qui aut publicus eorum decreto non stetit, sacrificiis inter-*
 “*dicunt—Druides a bello abesse consueverunt, neque tributa*
 “*una cum reliquis pendunt: militiæ vacationem, omniumque*
 “*rerum habent immunitatem. Tantis excitati præmiis, et sua*
 “*sponte multi in disciplinam conveniunt, et a parentibus propin-*
 “*quisque mittitur.” Tacitus (De mor. Germanorum, cap. vii.*
 “*p. 384. edit. Gronov.) expresses also the power and authority of*
 “*the Priests or Druids in the following terms: “Neque enim ani-*
 “*madvertere, neque vincire, neque verberare quidem, nisi sa-*
 “*cerdotibus permiffum, non quasi in poenam, nec ducis jussu,*
 “*sed velut eo imperante.” And again, cap. ii. “Silentium*
 “*per sacerdotes, quibus et tum coercendi jus est, imperatur.”*
 “*Helmoldus, chron. Sclavorum, lib. i. cap. xxxvi. p. 90. ex-*
 “*presses himself to the same purpose, “Major Flaminis, quam*
 “*Regis, apud ipsos veneratio est.” And again, lib. ii. cap.*
 “*xii. p. 235. “Rex apud eos medicæ æstimationis est comparatione*
 “*Flaminis. Ille enim responsa perquirat—Rex et populus ad*
 “*illius nutum pendunt.” This ancient custom of honouring*
 “*their Priests, and submitting, in all things, to their decisions,*
 “*was still preserved by the Germans, and other European nations,*
 “*after their conversion to Christianity: and this furnishes a satis-*
 “*factory answer to that question, viz. How it came to pass, that*
 “*the Christian Priesthood obtained in the West that enormous de-*
 “*gree of authority, which is so contrary to the positive precepts of*
 “*Christ, and the nature and genius of his divine religion. ¶ But*
 “*they perceived not, the finger of God in this, to the fulfilling*
 “*the prophecies, of the falling from the true faith, and they*
 “*bring in the man of sin, the son of perdition.*”

minion and authority which the Ministers of paganism had usurped over an ignorant and brutish people.

THE honours and privileges which the Western nations had voluntarily conferred upon the Bishops, and other 'Doctors of the Church, were now augmented with new and immense accessions of opulence and authority. The endowments of the Church and Monasteries, and the revenues of the Bishops were hitherto considerable; but in this century a new and ingenious method was found out of acquiring much greater riches to the Church, and of increasing its wealth through succeeding ages. An opinion prevailed universally at this time, though its authors are not known, that the punishment which the righteous Judge of the world has reserved for the transgressions of the wicked, was to be prevented and annulled, by liberal donations to God, to the Saints, to the Churches and Clergy. In consequence of this notion, the great and opulent, who were, generally speaking, the most remarkable for their flagitious and abominable lives, offered, out of the abundance which they had received by inheritance, or acquired by rapine, rich donations, in order to avoid the sufferings and penalties annexed by the Priests to transgression in this life (n), and to escape the misery denounced against

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(n) The temporal penalties here mentioned were rigorous fasts, bodily pains and mortifications, long and frequent prayers, pilgrimages to the tombs of Saints and Martyrs, and such like austerities. These were the penalties, which the Priests imposed upon such as had confessed their crimes; and as they were singularly grievous to those who had led voluptuous lives, and were

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the wicked in a future state. This new and commodious method of making atonement for iniquity, was the principal source of those immense treasures, which, from this period, began to flow in upon the Clergy, the Churches and Monasteries, and continued to enrich them through succeeding ages down to the present time (o).

BUT here it is highly worthy of observation, that the donations which Princes and persons of the first rank presented, in order to make expiation for their sins, and to satisfy the justice of God, and the demands of the Clergy, did not only consist in those *private* possessions which every citizen may enjoy, and with which the Churches and Convents were already abundantly enriched; no: these donations were carried to a much more extravagant length, and the Church was endowed with several of those *public* grants, which are peculiar to Princes and Sovereign states, and which are commonly called *regalia*, or royal domains. Emperors, Kings, and Princes, signalized their superstitious veneration for the Clergy, by investing Bishops, Churches, and Monasteries, in the possession of whole Provinces, Cities, Castles, and Fortresses, with all

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desirous of continuing in the same course of licentious pleasure, effeminacy, and ease; the richer sort of transgressors embraced eagerly this new method of expiation, and willingly gave a part of their substance to avoid such severe and rigorous penalties.

(o) Hence, by a known form of speech, they who offered donations to the Church or Clergy were said to do this for *the redemption of their soul*; and the gifts themselves were generally called *the price of transgression*. Sec. Lud. Ant. Muratori *Diff. De Redemptione Peccatorum*, in his *Antiquitates Italicae medii ævi*, tom. v. p. 712.

the rights and prerogatives of Sovereignty that were annexed to them under the dominion of their former masters. Hence it came to pass that they, who, by their holy profession, were appointed to proclaim to the world the vanity of human grandeur, and to inspire into the minds of men, by their instructions and their example, a noble contempt of sublunary things, became themselves scandalous spectacles of worldly pomp, ambition, and splendour; were created *Dukes, Counts, and Marquises*, Judges, Legislators, and Sovereigns; and not only gave laws to nations, but also, upon many occasions, gave battle to their enemies at the head of numerous armies of their own raising. It is here that we are to look for the source of those dreadful tumults and calamities, that spread desolation through *Europe*, in after-times, particularly of those bloody wars concerning *investitures*, and those obstinate contentions and disputes about the *regalia*.

The Kings of the European nations, who were employed either in usurpation or self-defence, endeavoured, by all means, to attach warmly to their interests those whom they considered as their friends and clients; and, for this purpose, they distributed among them extensive territories, cities, and fortresses, with the various rights and privileges belonging to them, reserving to themselves no more than the supreme dominion, and also the military service of their powerful vassals. This then being the method of governing customary in *Europe*, it was esteemed by Princes a high instance of political prudence to distribute among the Bishops, and other Christian Doctors, the same sort of donations that they had formerly made to their
generals

generals and clients. They expected more fidelity and loyalty from a set of men, who were bound by the obligations of religion, and consecrated to the service of God, than from a body of nobility, composed of fierce and impetuous warriors, and accustomed to little else than bloodshed and rapine.

THIS prodigious accession to the opulence and authority of the Clergy in the West began at their head, the Roman Pontiff, and spread gradually from thence among the inferior Bishops, and also among the Sacerdotal and Monastic Orders. The Roman Pontiff received, with something more than a mere ghostly delight, these august privileges; and left, upon any change of affairs, attempts might be made to deprive him of them, he strengthened his title to these extraordinary honours, by a variety of passages drawn from ancient history, and, what was still more astonishing, by arguments of a religious nature. This conduct of a superstitious people swelled the arrogance of the Roman Druid to an enormous size; and gave to the see of *Rome* that high pre-eminence and that despotic authority, in civil and political matters, that were unknown to former ages. Hence, among other unhappy circumstances, arose that most monstrous and most pernicious opinion, that such persons as were excluded from the communion of the Church by the Pontiff himself, or any of the Bishops, forfeited thereby not only their civil rights and advantages as Citizens, but even the common claims and privileges of humanity. This horrid opinion, which was a fruitful source of wars, massacres, and rebellions without number, and which contributed more than any thing else to augment and confirm the papal authority,

authority, was, unhappily for *Europe*, borrowed by Christians, or rather by the Clergy from the Pagan superstitions (p).

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(p) Though *excommunication*, from the time of Constantine the Great, was in every part of the Christian world, attended with many disagreeable effects, yet the highest terrors were confined to *Europe*, where its aspect was truly formidable and hideous. It acquired also, in the eighth century, new accessions of terror; so that, from that period, the *excommunication* practised in *Europe* differed entirely from that which was in use in other parts of *Christendom*. Excommunicated persons were indeed considered, in all places, as objects of aversion both to God and man: but they were not, on this account robbed of the privileges of citizens, nor of the rights of humanity; much less were those King's and Princes, whom an insolent Bishop had thought proper to exclude from the Communion of the Church, supposed to forfeit, on that account, their crowns or their territories. But, from this century, it was quite otherwise in *Europe*; *excommunication* received that infernal power which dissolved all connexions; so that those whom the Bishops, or their chief, excluded from Church Communion, were degraded to a level with the beasts. Under this horrid sentence, the King, the Ruler, the Husband, the Father, nay, even the *Man*, forfeited all their rights, all their advantages, the claims of nature, and the privileges of society. What then was the origin of this unnatural power which *excommunication* acquired? It was briefly as follows: Upon the conversion of the barbarous nations to Christianity, these new and ignorant Profelytes confounded the *excommunication* in use among the Christians with *that* which had been practised in the times of paganism by the Priests of the Gods, and considered them as of the same nature and effect. The Roman Pontiffs, on the other hand, were too artful not to countenance and encourage this error; and therefore, employed all sorts of means to gain credit to an opinion so proper to gratify their ambition, and to aggrandize, in general, the episcopal order. That this is the true origin of the extensive and horrid influence of the European and Papal *excommunication*, will appear

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We see in the annals of the French nation the following remarkable and shocking instance of the enormous power that was, at this time, vested in the Roman Pontiff. Pepin, who was *Mayor of the Palace* to Childeric III, and who, in the exercise of that high office, was possessed, in reality, of the royal power and authority, not contented with this, aspired to the titles and honours of Majesty, and formed the design of dethroning his Sovereign. For this purpose the states of the realm were assembled by Pepin, A. D. 751; and though they were devoted to the interests of this ambitious usurper, they gave it as their opinion, that the Bishop of *Rome* was previously to be consulted, whether the execution of such a project was lawful or not. In consequence of this, Ambassadors were sent by Pepin to Zachary, the reigning Pontiff, with the following question: *Whether the divine law did not permit a valiant and warlike people to dethrone a pusillanimous and indolent Monarch, who was incapable of discharging any of the functions of royalty, and to substitute in his place one more worthy to rule, and who had already rendered most important services to the state?* The situation of Zachary, who stood much in need of the succours of Pepin against the Greeks and Lombards, rendered his answer such as the usurper desired.

And

pear evident to such as cast an eye upon the following passage of Cæsar, *De bello Gallico*, lib. vi. cap. xlii. "Si qui aut privatus aut publicus Druidum decreto non stetit, sacrificiis interdicunt. Hæc poena est apud eos gravissima. Quibus ita est interdictum, ii numero impiorum et sceleratorum habentur, iis omnes decedunt, aditum eorum sermonemque defugiunt, ne quid ex contagione incommodi accipiant: neque iis petentibus Jus Redditus, neque honos ullus communicator."

And when this favourable decision of the Roman Oracle, was published in *France*, the unhappy Childeric was stript of royalty without the least opposition; and Pepin, without the smallest resistance from any quarter, stepped into the throne of his Master and his Sovereign. Let the abettors of the papal authority see, how they can justify in Christ's pretended vicergerent upon earth a decision, which is so glaringly repugnant to the laws and precepts of the divine Saviour (q). This decision was solemnly confirmed by Stephen II, the successor of Zachary, who undertook a journey into *France*, in the year 754, in order to solicit assistance against the Lombards; and who, at the same time, dissolved the obligation of the oath of fidelity and allegiance which Pepin had sworn to Childeric, and violated by his usurpation, in the year 751. And to render his title to the crown as a sacred as possible, Stephen

anointed

(q) See Le Cointe *Annal. Franciæ Eccles.* Mezeray, Daniel, and the other Gallic and German historians, concerning this important event; but particularly Bossuet *Defens. declarationis Cleri Gallicani*, part I. p. 225. Petr. Rival. *Dissertations Histor. et Critiques sur divers Sujets*, Diff. ii. p. 70. Diff. iii. p. 156. Lond. 1726, in 8vo. Henr. de Bunau, *Historia imperii Germanici*, tom. ii. p. 288. This remarkable event is not, indeed, related in the same manner by all historians, and it is generally represented under the falsest colours by those, who, from a spirit of blind zeal and excessive adulation, seize every occasion of exalting the dignity and authority of the Bishops of *Rome*. Such writers assert, that it was by Zachary's authority as Pontiff, and not, in consequence of his opinion as a Casuist or Divine, that the crown was taken from the head of Childeric, and placed upon that of Pepin. But this the French absolutely and justly deny. Had it, however, been so, the crime of the Pontiff would have been much greater than it was in reality.

anointed and crowned him, and his wife and two sons for the second time (r).

THIS compliance of the Roman Pontiffs proved an abundant source of opulence and credit to the Church, and to its aspiring Ministers. When that part of *Italy*, which was as yet subject to the Grecian Empire, was involved in confusion and trouble, by the seditions and tumults which arose from the imperial edicts (s) against the erection and worship of images; the Kings of the Lombards employed the united influence of their arms and negociations in order to terminate these contests. Their success, indeed, was only advantageous to themselves; for they managed matters so as to become, by

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(r) Pepin had been anointed, by the legate Boniface at *Soissons* soon after the election; but thinking that ceremony performed by the Pope, would recommend him more to the respect of his subjects, he desired that it should be performed anew by Stephen. Pepin is the first French Monarch, who received this unction as a ceremony of coronation, at least according to the reports of the most credible historians. His predecessors were proclaimed by being lifted up on a shield, and the *holy phial* of Clovis is now universally regarded as fabulous. The custom of anointing Kings at their coronation was, however, more ancient than the time of Pepin, and was observed long before that period in *Scotland* and *Spain*. See Edmond Martene, *De Antiq. Eccles. Ritib.* tom. iii. cap. x. As also Bunau, *Historia Imperii Germanici*, tom. ii. p. 301, 366.

(s) The author has here in view the edicts of Leo Isauricus and Constantine Copronymus. The former published in the year 726, a famous edict against the worship of images, which occasioned many contests and much disturbance both in Church and State; and the latter assembled at *Constantinople*, in the year 754, a council of 338 Bishops, who unanimously condemned not only the *worship*, but also, the *use*, of images.

degrees, masters of the Grecian Provinces in *Italy*, who were subject to the Exarch, who resided at *Ravenna*. Nay one of these Monarchs, named Aistulphus, carried his views still further. Elated with these new accessions to his dominions, he meditated the conquest of *Rome* and its territory, and formed the ambitious project of reducing all *Italy* under the yoke of the Lombards. The terrified Pontiff, Stephen II. addresses himself to his powerful patron and protector Pepin, represents to him his deplorable condition, and implores his assistance. The French Monarch embarks, with zeal, in the cause of the suppliant Pontiff; crosses the *Alps*, A. D. 754, with a numerous army; and having defeated Aistulphus, obliges him, by a solemn treaty, to deliver up to the See of *Rome*, the Exarchate of *Ravenna*, *Pentapolis*, and all the cities, castles, and territories which he had seized in the Roman Dukedom. It was not however long before the Lombard Prince violated, without remorse, an engagement which he had entered into with reluctance. In the year 755 he laid siege to *Rome* for the second time, but was again obliged to sue for peace by the victorious arms of Pepin, who returned into *Italy*, and forcing the Lombard to execute the treaty he had so audaciously violated, made a new grant of the Exarchate (t), and of *Pentapolis* to the Roman Pontiff and his successors

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(t) See Car. Sigonius, *De regno Italiae*, lib. iii. p. 202. tom. ii. Opp. Bunau, *Historia Imperii Germanici*, tom. ii. p. 301, 366. Muratori *Annali d'Italiae*, tom. iv. p. 310. The real limits of the *exarchate*, granted by Pepin to the Roman Pontiff, have been much controverted among the learned, and have, particularly in our times, employed the researches of several eminent writers.

in the Apostolic See of St. Peter. And thus was the Bishop of Rome raised to the rank of a temporal Prince. While the

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power

writers. The Bishops of Rome extend the limits of this *exarchate* as far as they can with any appearance of decency or probability; while their adversaries are as jealous in contracting this famous grant within narrower bounds. See Lud. Ant. Murator. *Droits de l'Empire sur l'Etat Ecclesiastique*, cap. i. ii. As also his *Antiquit. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. i. p. 64, 68, 986, 987. The same author treats the matter with more circumspection, tom. v. p. 790. As the Bishops of Rome build their authority as successors to St. Peter, we shall in this place examine their foundations. That St. Peter was at Rome, that he was Bishop of Rome, we are told by tradition alone, which at the same time, tells us of so many strange circumstances attending his coming to that metropolis, his staying in it, his withdrawing from it, &c. that in the opinion of every unprejudiced man, the whole must favour strongly of romance; but such tradition was of too great consequence to the Popes not to be maintained at all events. Now, neither St. Peter himself, nor any of the sacred writers, give us the least hint or intimation of his ever having been at Rome. We are told of his being at Antioch, at Jerusalem, at Corinth, at Babylon; but of the great metropolis of the Empire, where he is supposed to have fixed his see, not the least mention is made. In this controversy, the silence of St. Paul in particular, if duly attended to, must be thought by every unbiassed man, a far more convincing proof of St. Peter's not having been at Rome, than all the authorities that can be alleged of his being there. For that Apostle while at Rome, had frequent opportunities of mentioning his fellow Apostle and fellow Labourer; and yet, naming several others, he is quite silent as to him. From Rome he wrote to the Galatians, to the Ephesians, to the Philippians, to the Colossians, to Timothy, and to Philemon, without ever mentioning Peter, or sending any salutation from him; nay, it is certain, that St. Peter was not at Rome when the Apostle of the Gentiles St. Paul wrote to the Colossians; for mentioning Tychicus, Onesimus, Aristarchus, Marcus and Justus, he adds, *these alone, my fellow-workers unto the Kingdom of God, who have been*

power and opulence of the Roman Pontiffs were rising to the greatest height by the events which we have now been relating, they received a mortifying check in consequence of a quarrel which broke out between these haughty Pontiffs and the Grecian Emperors. Leo the Isaurian, and his son Constantine Copronymus, incensed at the zeal which Gregory II. and III. discovered for the worship of images, not only confiscated the treasures and lands which the Church of *Rome* possessed in *Sicily*, *Calabria*, and *Apulia*, but moreover withdrew the Bishop of these countries, and also the various Provinces and Churches of *Illyricum*, from the jurisdiction of the Roman See, and subjected them to the spiritual dominion of the Bishop of *Constantinople*. And so inflexibly were the Grecian Emperors bent upon humbling the arrogance of the Roman Pontiffs, that no intreaties, supplications, nor threats could engage them to abandon their purpose, or to restore

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been a comfort unto me, Coloss. iv. 11. *Peter* was not there, when St. Paul wrote his second Epistle to *Timothy*, where he says, *At my first answer, no man stood with me, but all men forsook me*, Tim. iv. 16. Nor was he there immediately before St. Paul's death, when the time of his departure was at hand; for he tells *Timothy* that *all the brethren did salute him*; and naming *Eubulus*, *Pudens*, *Linus*, and *Claudia*, he omits *Peter*, whom we may thence conclude not to have been there, Tim. iv. 21, and yet it is a received tradition in the Church of *Rome* that St. *Peter* was then, not only in the metropolis, but confined and bound in the same Prison with St. Paul. As that Apostle, in writing from *Rome*, sends no salutations from *Peter*, so in writing to *Rome*, he greets many others, but never mentions him, Rom. xvi. 3, 15. Now, who would not sooner chuse to reject such traditions, than to suppose *St. Paul* guilty of such an unfriendly and unaccountable omission. See *Bower's Lives of the Popes*, Vol. the first.

this rich and signal portion of St. Peter's patrimony to his greedy successors (u). It is here that we must look for the original source, and the principal cause of that vehement contest between the Roman Pontiff and the Bishop of *Constantinople*, which, in the following century, divided the Greek and Latin Churches, and was so pernicious to the interests and advancement of true Christianity.

THE Monastic discipline was extremely relaxed at this time both in the Eastern and Western Provinces, and, as appears by the concurring testimonies of the writers of this century, was fallen into a total decay. The only Monks who escaped this general corruption, were they who passed their days in the deserts of *Egypt*, *Syria*, and *Mesopotamia*, amidst the austeries of a wretched life, and remote from all the comforts of human society : yet the merit of having preserved their discipline was sadly counterbalanced by the gross ignorance, the fanatical madness, and the sordid superstition that reigned among these miserable hermits. Those of the Monastic orders who lived nearer cities and populous towns, troubled frequently the public tranquillity by the tumults and seditions they fomented among the multitude, so that it became necessary to check their rebellious ambition by the severe laws that were enacted against them by Constantine, Copronymus, other Emperors.

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(u) See Mich. Lequien's *Oriens Christianus*, tom. i. p. 96. Among the Greek writers, also Theophanes and others acknowledge the fact, but they are not entirely agreed about the reasons to which it is to be attributed.

THE supreme dominion over the Church and its possessions was vested in the Emperors and Kings, both in the Eastern and Western world. The sovereignty of the Grecian Emperors, in this respect, has never been contested, and though the Partisans of the Roman Pontiffs endeavour to render dubious the supremacy of the Latin Monarchs over the Church, yet this supremacy is too manifest to be disputed by such as have considered the matter attentively (w), and it is acknowledged by the wisest and most candid writers even of the Romish communion.

It is true, indeed, that the Latin Emperors did not assume to themselves the administration of the Church, or the cognizance and decision of controversies that were purely of a religious nature. They acknowledged, on the contrary, that these matters belonged to the tribunal of the Roman Pontiff, and of the Ecclesiastical Councils. (x) But this jurisdiction of the Pontiff, was confined within narrow limits; he could decide nothing by his sole authority, but was obliged to convene a council when any religious differences were to be determined by an authoritative judgment. Nor did the provinces, when any controversy arose, wait for the decision of the Bishop of Rome, but assembled, by their authority, their particular councils, in which the Bishops gave their thoughts, with the

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(w) For an accurate account of the rights of the Grecian Emperors in religious matters, we refer the reader to Lequien's *Oriens Christianus*, tom. i. p. 136.

(x) See the Dissertation of Charlemagne, *de imaginibus*, lib. i. cap. iv. p. 48. edit. Heumann.

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utmost freedom, upon the points in debate, and voted often in direct opposition to what was known to be the opinion of the Roman Pontiff: all which is evident from what passed in the councils assembled by the Franks and Germans, in order to determine the celebrated controversy concerning the use and worship of images. It is further to be observed, that the power of convening councils, and the right of presiding in them, were the prerogatives of the Emperors and Sovereign Princes, in whose dominions their assemblies were held; and that no decrees of any council obtained the force of laws, until they were approved and confirmed by the supreme magistrate.

(y) Thus was the spiritual authority of *Rome* wisely bounded by the civil power; but its ambitious Pontiffs fretted under the imperial curb, and eager to break loose their bonds, left no means unemployed for that purpose. Nay, they formed projects which seemed less the effects of ambition than of frenzy; for they claimed a supreme dominion, not only over the Church, but also over Kings themselves, and pretended to reduce the whole universe under their ghostly jurisdiction. However extravagant these pretensions were, they were followed by the most vigorous efforts, and the wars and tumults that arose in the following century, contributed, much to render these efforts successful.

(y) All this is fully and admirably demonstrated by Baluzius, in his Preface to the *Capitularia*, or laws of the Kings of the Franks, and is also amply illustrated in that work. See also J. Bagnage *Histoire de l'Eglise*, tom. i. p. 270.

C H A P. III.

Concerning the Doctrine of the Christian Church during this Century.

THE fundamental doctrines of Christianity were, as yet, respected and preserved in the theological writings both of the Greeks and Latins, as seems evident from the discourse of John Damascenus, *concerning the orthodox faith*, and the confession of faith which was drawn up by Charlemagne. (2) The pure seed of celestial truth was, however, choaked by a monstrous and incredible quantity of noxious weeds. The rational simplicity of the Christian worship was corrupted by an idolatrous veneration for images, and other superstitious inventions, and the sacred flame of divine charity was extinguished by the violent contentions and animosities, which the progress of these superstitions occasioned in the Church. All acknowledged the efficacy of our Saviour's merits: and yet all, one way or another, laboured, in effect, to diminish the persuasion

(2) See the treatise of this Prince, *concerning images*, book iii. p. 259. ed. Heumanni. Of the Greek writers, the reader may consult Mich. Syncellus's *Confession of Faith*, published by Montfaucon, in his *Bibliotheca Coisliniana*, p. 90; and among the Latins, *An Exposition of the principal Doctrine of the Christian Religion*, composed by Benedict, Abbot of Aniane, and published by Baluzius, in his *Miscellanea*, tom. v. p. 56; as also the *Creed* of Leo III. published in the same work, tom. vii. p. 18.

fusion of this efficacy in the minds of men, by teaching that Christians might appease an offended Deity by voluntary acts of mortification, or by gifts and oblations lavished upon the Church, and by exhorting such as were desirous of salvation to place their confidence in the works and merits of the Saints. Were we to enlarge upon all the absurdities and superstitions which were invented to flatter the passions of the misguided multitude, and to encrease, at the expence of reason and christianity, the opulence and authority of a licentious clergy; such an immense quantity of odious materials would swell this work to an enormous size.

THE piety in vogue during this and some succeeding ages, consisted in building and embellishing Churches and Chapels, in endowing Monasteries, erecting Basilics, hunting after relicks of Saints and Martyrs, and treating them with an excessive and absurd veneration, in procuring the intercession of the Saints by rich oblations or superstitious rites, in worshipping images, in pilgrimages to those places which were esteemed holy, and chiefly to *Palestine*, and such like absurd and extravagant practices and institutions. The pious Christian and the profligate Transgressor, shewed equal zeal in the performance of these superstitious services, which were looked upon as of the highest efficacy in order to the attainment of eternal salvation; they were performed by the latter as an expiation for their crimes, and a mean of appeasing an offended Deity; and by the former with a view to obtain, from above, the good things of this life, and an easy and commodious passage to life eternal. The true genuine religion of Jesus,

if we except a few of its doctrines contained in the *Creed*, was utterly unknown in this century, not only to the multitude in general, but also to the doctors of the first rank and eminence in the Church, and the consequences of this corrupt ignorance were fatal to the interests of virtue. All orders of men, regardless of the obligations of morality, of the duties of the gospel, and of the culture and improvement of their minds, rushed headlong with a perfect security into all sorts of wickedness, from the delusive hopes, that by the intercession and prayers of the Saints, and the credit of the Priests at the throne of God, they would easily obtain the remission of their enormities, and render the Deity propitious. This dismal account of the religion and morals of the eighth century is confirmed by the unanimous testimony of all the historians who have written concerning that period.

OF all the controversies which agitated and perplexed the Christian Church during this century, that which arose concerning the worship of images in *Greece*, and was carried from thence into both the Eastern and Western Provinces, was the most unhappy and pernicious in its consequence. The first sparks of this terrible flame, that had like to have proved fatal both to the interests of religion and government, had already appeared under the reign of Philippicus Bardanes, who was created Emperor of the Greeks a little after the commencement of this century. 'This Prince, with the consent of John Patriarch of *Constantinople*, ordered a picture which represented the sixth general council, to be pulled down from its place in the Church of St. Sophia A. D. 712; nor did Bardanes

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stop here ; but sent immediately to *Rome* to remove all images of that nature from the Churches and other places of worship. His orders, however, were far from being received with submission, or producing their designed effect ; on the contrary, Constantine, the Roman Pontiff, not only rejected, by a formal protest, the imperial edict, but resolved to express his contempt of it by his actions as well as his words : He ordered six pictures, representing the six general councils, to be placed in the porch of *St. Peter's Church* ; and, that no act of rebellion or arrogance might be left unemployed, he assembled a council at *Rome*, in which he caused the Emperor himself to be condemned as an apostate from the true religion. These first tumults were quelled by a revolution, which, the year following, deprived Bardanes of the Imperial throne. (a) The dispute, however, broke out with redoubled fury under Leo the Isaurian, a Prince of the greatest resolution and intrepidity, and the new tumults it excited were both violent and durable. Leo, unable to bear any longer the excessive height to which the Greeks carried their superstitious attachment to the worship of images, and the sharp railleries and serious reproaches, which this idolatrous service drew upon the Christians from the Jews and Saracens, determined, by the most vigorous proceedings, to root out at once this growing evil. For this purpose he issued out an edict, A. D. 726, by which it was ordered, not only that the worship of images should be

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abrogated

(a) See Fred. Spanhemii *Historia imaginum restituta*, which is published in 2d vol. of his work, and also printed apart. Maimbourg's history of this Controversy, which is full of the most absurd and malignant assertions. Muratori *Annali d'Italia*, tom. iv. p. 221.

abrogated and relinquished, but also that all the images, except that of Christ's crucifixion, should be removed out of the Churches. (b) The imperial edict produced such effects, as might have been expected from the frantic enthusiasm of a superstitious people. A civil war broke out in the islands of the Archipelago, ravaged a part of *Asia*, and afterwards reached *Italy*. The people, partly from their own ignorance, but principally, in consequence of the perfidious suggestions of the Priests and Monks, who had artfully rendered the worship of images a source of opulence to their Churches and Cloisters, were led to regard the Emperor as an apostate, and hence they considered themselves as freed from their oath of allegiance, and from all the obligations that attach subjects to their lawful sovereign.

THE Roman Pontiffs Gregory I. and II. were the authors and ringleaders of these civil commotions and insurrections in *Italy*. The former, upon the Emperor's refusing to revoke his edict against images, declared him, without hesitation, unworthy of the name and privileges of a Christian, and thus excluded

(b) In this account of the imperial edict, Dr. Mosheim follows the opinions of Baronius, Fleury and Le Suer. Others affirm, with more probability, that this famous edict did not enjoin the pulling down images every where, and casting them out of the churches, but only prohibited the paying to them any kind of adoration or worship. It would seem as if Leo was not at first averse to the use of images, as ornaments, or even as helps to devotion and memory; for at the same time he forbid them to be worshipped, he ordered them to be placed higher in the Churches, say some, to avoid this adoration; but afterwards finding that they were the occasion of idolatry, he had them removed from the Churches and broken.

excluded him from the communion of the Church; and no sooner was this formidable sentence made public, than the Romans, and other Italian Provinces, that were subject to the Grecian Empire, violated their allegiance, and rising in arms either massacred or banished all the Emperor's deputies or officers. Leo, exasperated by these violent proceedings, resolved to chastise the Italian rebels, and to make the haughty Pontiff feel, in a particular manner, the effects of his resentment; but he failed in the attempt. Doubly irritated by this disappointment, he vented his fury against images and their worshippers, in the year 730, in a much more terrible manner than he had hitherto done; for, in a council assembled at *Constantinople*, he degraded from his office Germanus, the Bishop of that imperial city, who was a patron of images, put Anastasius in his place, ordered all the images to be publicly burnt, and inflicted a variety of severe punishments upon such as were attached to that idolatrous worship. These rigorous measures divided the Christian Church into two violent factions, whose contests were carried on with an ungoverned rage, and produced nothing but mutual invectives, crimes, and assassinations. Of these factions the one adopted the adoration and worship of images, and were on that account called *Iconoduli* or *Iconolatæ*, while the other maintained that such worship was unlawful, and that nothing was more worthy of the zeal of Christians than to demolish and destroy those statues and pictures, that were the occasions and objects of this gross idolatry, and hence they were distinguished by the titles of *Iconomachi* and *Iconoclastæ*. The furious zeal which Gregory II. had shewn in defending the odious superstition of image-worship,

worship, was not only imitated, but even surpassed by his successor, who was the III^d. Pontiff of that name; and though at this distance of time, we are not acquainted with all the criminal circumstances that attended the intemperate zeal of these insolent Prelates, yet we know with the utmost certainty, that it was owing to their extravagant attachment to image-worship that the Italian provinces were torn from the Grecian Empire. (c)

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(c) The Greek writers tell us, that both the Gregories carried their insolence so far as to excommunicate Leo and his son Constantine, to dissolve the obligation of the oath of allegiance, which the people of *Italy* had taken to these Princes, and to prohibit their paying tribute to them, or shewing them any marks of submission and obedience. These facts are also acknowledged by many of the partizans of the Roman Pontiffs, such as Baronius, Sigonius *De Regno Italiae*, and their numerous followers. On the other hand some learned writers, particularly among the French, alleviate considerably the crime of the Gregories, and positively deny that they either excommunicated the Emperors above-mentioned, or called off the people from their duty and allegiance. See Lamoignon *Epistolar.* lib. vii. *Ep.* vii. p. 456. tom. v. *Opp.* par. II. Natal. Alexander, *Select. Histor. Ecclesiast. Capit. Sæc.* iii. Dissert. i. p. 456. Petr. de Marca, *Concordia Sacerdotii et Imperii*, lib. iii. cap. xi. Bossuet, *Defens. Declarationis Cleri Gallic. de potestate Eccles.* par. i. lib. vi. cap. xii. p. 197. Giannone, *Histoire Civile de Naples*, tom. i. p. 400. All these found their opinions concerning the conduct of the Gregories, chiefly upon the authority of the Latin writers, such as Anastasius, Paul Deacon, and others, who seem to have known nothing of that audacious insolence, with which these Pontiffs are said to have opposed the Emperors, and even represent them as having given several marks of their submission and obedience to the Imperial authority. Such are the contrary accounts of the Greek and Latin writers; and the most prudent use we can make of them is, to suspend our judgment

CONSTANTINE, to whom the furious tribe of the image-worshippers had given by way of derision the name of Copronymus (d), succeeded his father Leo in the empire A. D. 741, and, animated with an equal zeal and ardour against the new idolatry, employed all his influence in extirpating and abolishing the worship of images in opposition to the vigorous efforts of the Roman Pontiffs, and the superstitious Monks. His manner of proceeding was attended with greater marks of equity and moderation, than had appeared in the measures pursued by Leo; for, knowing the respect which the Greeks had for the decisions of general councils, whose authority they considered as supreme and unlimited in religious matters, he assembled at *Constantinople*, A. D. 754, a council composed of the Eastern Bishops, in order to have this important question examined with the utmost care, and decided with wisdom, seconded by a just and lawful authority. This assembly, which the Greeks regard as the *seventh oecumenical council*, gave judgment, as was the custom of those times, in favour of the opinion embraced by the Emperor, and solemnly condemned the worship and also the use of images.

ment with respect to a matter, which the obscurity that covers the history of this period, renders it impossible to clear up. All that we can know with certainty is, that the zeal of the two Pontiffs above-mentioned for the worship of images, furnished to the people of *Italy* the occasion of falling from their allegiance to the Grecian Emperors.

(d) This nick-name was given to Constantine, from his having defiled the sacred font at his baptism.

images (e). But this decision was not sufficient to vanquish the blind obstinacy of superstition ; many adhered still to their idolatrous worship, and none made a more turbulent resistance to the wise decree of this council than the Monks, who still continued to excite commotions in the state, and to blow the flames of sedition and rebellion among the people. Their malignity was, however, chastised by Constantine, who, filled with a just indignation at their seditious practices, punished several of them in an exemplary manner, and by new laws set bounds to the violence of Monastic rage. Leo IV. who, after the death of Constantine, was declared Emperor, A. D. 755, adopted the sentiments of his father and grandfather, and pursued the measures which they had concerted for the extirpation of idolatry out of the Christian Church ; for having perceived that the worshippers of images could not be engaged by mild and gentle proceedings to abandon this superstitious practice, he had recourse to the coercive influence of penal laws.

A cup of poison, administered by the impious counsel of a perfidious spouse, deprived Leo IV. of his life, A. D. 780, and rendered the idolatrous cause of images triumphant. The profligate Irene, after having thus accomplished the death of her husband, held the reins of empire during the minority of her son Constantine ; and, to establish her authority on more solid foundations, entered into an alliance with Adrian,

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(e) The authority of this council is not acknowledged by Papists, no more than the obligation of the second commandment, which they have prudently struck out of the decalogue.

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Bishop of *Rome*, A. D. 786, and summoned a council at *Nice* in *Bithynia*, which is known by the title of the *second Nicene council*. In this assembly the imperial laws concerning the new idolatry were abrogated, the decrees of the council of *Constantinople* reversed, the worship of images and of the crosses restored, and severe punishments denounced against such as maintained that God was the only object of religious adoration. It is impossible to imagine any thing more ridiculous and trifling than the arguments, upon which the Bishops, assembled in this council, founded their decrees (f). The other enormities of the flagitious Irene, and her deserved fate, cannot, with propriety, be treated of here.

In these violent contests, the most of the Latins, such as the Britons, Germans, and Gauls, seemed to steer a middle way between the opposite tenets of the contending parties. They were of opinion that images might be lawfully preserved, and even placed in the Churches, but, at the same time, they looked upon all worship of them as highly injurious and offensive to the Supreme Being (g). Such, particularly, were the sentiments of Charlemagne, who distinguished himself in this important controversy. By the advice of the French Bishops, who were no friends to this second council of *Nice*, he ordered some learned and judicious Divine

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(f) Mart. Chemnitius, *Examen Concilii Tridentini*, par. iv. loc. ii. cap. v. p. 52. Lenfant, *Préservatif contre la Réunion avec le siège de la Rome*, par. iii. lettre xvii. p. 446.

(g) The aversion the Britons had to the worship of images may be seen in Spelman *ad Concilia Magnæ Britanniæ*, tom. i. p. 73.

to compose *four books concerning images*, which he sent, in the year 790, to Adrian, the Roman Pontiff, with a view to engage him to withdraw his approbation of the decrees of that council. In this performance the reasons alleged by the *Nicene* Bishops to justify the worship of images, are refuted with great accuracy and spirit (h). They were not, however, left without defence; Adrian, who was afraid of acknowledging even an Emperor for his master, composed an answer to the *four books* mentioned above, but neither his arguments, nor his authority, were sufficient to support the superstition he endeavoured to maintain; for in the year 794, Charlemagne assembled, at *Francfort on the Maine*, a council of three hundred Bishops, in order to re-examine this important question; in which the opinion contained in the *four books* was solemnly confirmed, and the worship of images unanimously condemned (i).

FROM

(h) The books of Charlemagne *concerning images*, which deserve an attentive perusal, are yet extant; and when they were become extremely scarce, were republished at *Hanover* in 8vo in 1731, by the celebrated Christopher. Aug. Heuman, who enriched this edition with a learned preface. These books are adorned with the venerable name of Charlemagne: but it is easy to perceive that they are the production of a scholastic Divine and not of an Emperor. Several learned men have conjectured, that Charlemagne composed these books with the assistance of his preceptor Alcuin; see Heumanni *Præf.* p. 51. and Bunau *Historia Imperii German.* tom. i. p. 490. This conjecture, though far from being contemptible, cannot be admitted without hesitation; since Alcuin was in *England* when these books were composed. We learn from the history of his life, that he went into *England*, A.D. 789, and did not return from thence before 792.

(i) This event is treated with a degree of candour not more laudable, than surprizing by Mabillon, in *Præf. ad Sæculum iv. Actorum SS.*

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FROM hence we may conclude, that in this century the Latins deemed it neither impious, nor unlawful to dissent from the opinion of the Roman Pontiff, and even to charge that Prelate with error.

CHAP. IV.

Concerning the Rites and Ceremonies used in the Church during this Century.

THE religion of this century consisted almost entirely in a motley round of external rites and ceremonies. We are not, therefore, to wonder that more zeal and diligence were employed in multiplying and regulating these outward marks of a superstitious devotion, than in correcting the vices and follies of men, in enlightening their understandings and forming their hearts. The administration of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, which was deemed the most solemn and important branch of divine worship, was now every where embellished, or rather deformed, with a variety of senseless fopperies, which destroyed the beautiful simplicity of that affecting and salutary institution. We also find manifest traces in this century of that superstitious custom of celebrating

Ord. Benedicti. part v. See also Jo. Georg. Dorſcheus, *Collat. ad Concilium Francofordienſe, Argentor.* 1649 in 4to.

what were called *solitary Masses* (k), though it be difficult to decide whether they were instituted by a public law, or introduced by the authority of private persons (l). Be that as it may, this single custom is sufficient to give us an idea of the superstition and darkness that sat brooding over the Christian Church in this ignorant age, and renders it unnecessary to enter into a further detail of the absurdities with which a designing Priesthood continued to disfigure the religion of Jesus.

CHARLEMAGNE seemed disposed to stem this torrent of superstition, which gathered force from day to day; for not to mention the zeal with which he opposed the worship of images, there are other circumstances that bear testimony to his intentions in this matter, such as his preventing the multiplication of festivals, by reducing them to a fixed and limited number, his prohibiting the ceremony of consecrating the Church-bells by the rite of holy asperision, and other ecclesiastical laws of his enacting, which redound to his honour. Several circumstances, however, concurred to render his designs abortive, and to blast the success of his worthy purposes, and none more than his excessive attachment to the Roman Pontiffs,

(k) *Solitary* or *private Masses* were those that were celebrated by the Priest alone in behalf of souls detained in Purgatory, as well as upon some other particular occasions. These Masses were prohibited by the laws of the Church, but they were a rich source of profit to the Clergy. They were condemned by the Canons of a Synod assembled at Mentz under Charlemagne, as criminal innovations, and as the fruits of avarice and sloth.

(l) See Charlemagne's book *concerning images*, p. 245; as also Calixtus, *De Missis Solitariis*, c. 12.

Pontiffs, who were the patrons and protectors of those who exerted themselves in the cause of ceremonies. This vehement passion for the lordly Pontiff was inherited by the great Prince, of whom we are now speaking, from his father, Pepin, who had already commanded the manner of singing, and the kind of Church-music in use at *Rome* to be observed every where in all Christian Churches. It was in conformity with his example, and in compliance with the repeated and importunate solicitation of the Pontiff Adrian, that Charlemagne laboured to bring all the Latin Churches to follow, as their model, the Church of *Rome*, not only in the article now mentioned, but also in the whole form of their worship, in every circumstance of their religious service (m). Several Churches however, among which those of *Milan* and *Corbetta* distinguished themselves eminently, absolutely rejected this proposal, and could neither be brought by persuasion nor violence to change their usual method of worship.

(m) See Charlemagne's *treatise concerning images*, book I. p. 52. Eginard, *De vita Caroli Magni*, cap. 26. p. 14, edit. Bessellii.

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PART IV.

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THE
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THE
EXTERNAL HISTORY
OF THE
CHURCH.

CHAP. I.

*Concerning the Prosperous Events which happened to the
Church during this Century.*

THE reign of Charlemagne had been singularly auspicious to the Christian cause ; the life of that great Prince was principally employed in the most glorious efforts to propagate

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and establish the religion of Jesus among the Huns, Saxons, Frieslanders, and other unenlightened nations; but his piety was mixed with violence, his spiritual conquests were generally made by the force of arms, and this impure mixture tarnishes the lustre of his noblest exploits. His son Lewis, undeservedly surnamed the Meek, inherited the defects of his illustrious father without his virtues, and was his equal in violence and cruelty, but vastly his inferior in all worthy and valuable accomplishments. Under his reign a very favourable opportunity was offered of propagating the gospel among the Northern nations, and particularly among the inhabitants of *Sweden* and *Denmark*. A petty King of *Jutland*, named *Herald Klack*, being driven from both his kingdom and country, in the year 826, by *Regner Lodbrock*, threw himself at the Emperor's feet and implored his succours against the usurper. Lewis granted his request, and promised the exiled prince his protection and assistance, on condition, however, that he would embrace Christianity, and admit the Ministers of that Religion to preach in his dominions. *Harald* submitted to these conditions, was baptized with his brother at *Mentz*, A. D. 826, and returned into his country attended by two eminent divines, *Ansgar* or *Anschaire*, and *Authbert*; the former a Monk of *Corbey* in *Westphalia*, and the latter belonging to a Monastery of the same name in *France*. These venerable Missionaries preached the gospel with remarkable success, during the space of two years to the inhabitants of *Cimbria* and *Jutland*.

AFTER

AFTER the death of his learned and pious companion Authbert, the zealous and indefatigable Ansgar made a voyage into *Sweden*, A. D. 828, where his ministerial labours were crowned with a distinguished success. As he returned from thence into *Germany* in the year 831, he was loaded by Lewis the Meek with Ecclesiastical honours, being created Archbishop of the new church at *Hamburgh*, and also of the whole North, to which dignity the superintendence of the church of *Bremen* was afterwards added in the year 844. (a)

UNDER the reign of Basilus, the Macedonian, who ascended the imperial throne of the Greeks in the year 867, the Slavonians, Arentani, and certain provinces of *Dalmatia*, sent a solemn embassy to *Constantinople*, to declare their resolution of submitting to the jurisdiction of the Grecian empire, and of embracing, at the same time, the Christian religion. This proposal was received with admiration and joy, and it was also answered by a suitable ardour and zeal for the conversion of a people which seemed so ingenuously disposed to

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embrace

(a) The writers to whom we are indebted for accounts of this pious and illustrious Prelate, the founder of the Cimbrian, Danish, and Swedish Churches, are mentioned by Jo. Albert Fabricius, in his *Biblioth. Latin. medii ævi*, tom. i. p. 292. as also in his *Lux Evangelii orbi terrarum exorients*, p. 425. Add to these the Benedictine Monks, in their *Histoire Litt. de la France*, tom. v. p. 477. *Acta Sanctor. Mens. Februar.* tom. p. 391. Erici Pontoppidani *Annales Eccles. Danicæ Diplomatici*, tom. i. p. 18. Jo. Mollerus, *Cimbria Litterata*, tom. iii. p. 8. These writers give us also circumstantial accounts of Ebbo, Withmar, Rembert, and others, who were either the fellow-labourers or successors of Ansgar.

embrace the truth: accordingly, a competent number of Grecian doctors were sent among them to instruct them in the knowledge of the gospel, and to admit them by baptism into the Christian church. (b) The warlike nation of the Russians were converted under the same Emperor, but not in the same manner, nor from the same noble and rational motives. Having entered into a treaty of peace with that prince, they were engaged by various presents and promises to embrace the gospel, in consequence of which they received not only the Christian Ministers that were appointed to instruct them, but also an Archbishop, whom the Grecian patriarch Ignatius had sent among them, to perfect their conversion and establish their church. (c)

SUCH were the beginnings of Christianity among the bold and warlike Russians, who were inhabitants of the *Ukraine*, and who, a little before their conversion, fitted out a formidable

(b) We are indebted for this account of the conversion of the Slavonians to the treatise *de administrando imperio*, composed by the learned Emperor Constantine Porphyrogen, which is published by Bandurius in *Imperium Orientale*, tom. i. p. 72, 73. Constantine gives the same account of this event in the life of his Grandfather Basilus the Macedonian, f. 754. published in the *Corpus Byzantinum*, tom. xvi. p. 133, 134.

(c) Constantinus Porph. *Vita Basilii Macedonis*, f. 96. p. 157. *Corp. Byzant.* See also the *Narratio de Ruthenorum Conversione*, published both in Greek and Latin by Bandurius, in his *Imperium Orientale*, notis ad *Porphyrogenetam de administrando imperio*, p. 62. tom. ii.

ble fleet, and setting sail from *Kiovia* for *Constantinople*, spread terror and dismay through the whole empire. (d)

(d) The learned Lequien, in his *Oriens Christianus*, tom. i. p. 1257. gives a very accurate account of these Russians, who were converted to Christianity under the reign of Basilus the Macedonian, and in this he does no more than adopt the errors of many who wrote before him upon the same subject. Nor is he consistent with himself; for in one place he affirms, that the people here spoken of were the Russians, that lived in the neighbourhood of the Bulgarians; while in another he maintains, that by these Russians, we are to understand the Gazarians. The only reason he alledges to support this latter opinion is, that among the Christian Doctors sent to instruct the Russians, mention is made of Cyril, who converted the Gazari to Christianity. This reason shews, that the learned writer had a most imperfect knowledge both of these Russians and the Gazari. He is also guilty of other mistakes upon the same subject. There is a much better explanation of this matter given by the very learned Theoph. Sigifred. Bayer, *Dissert. de Russorum prima expeditione Constantinopolitana*, which is published in the sixth volume of the *Commentaria Acad. Scientiar. Petropolitane*.

CHAP. II.

Concerning the Calamities which happened to the Church during the Ninth Century.

THE Saracens had now extended their usurpations with an amazing success. Masters of *Asia*, a few provinces excepted, they pushed their conquests to the extremities of *India*, and obliged the greatest part of *Africa* to receive their yoke; nor were their enterprizes in the West without effect, since *Spain* and *Sardinia* submitted to their arms, and fell under their dominion. But their conquests did not end here: for in the year 827, by the treason of Euphemius, they made themselves masters of the rich and fertile island of *Sicily*; and towards the conclusion of this century the Asiatic Saracens seized upon several cities of *Calabria*, and spread the terror of their victorious arms even to the very walls of *Rome*, while *Crete*, *Corfica*, and other adjacent islands, were either joined to their possessions, or laid waste by their incursions. It is easy to comprehend that this overgrown prosperity of a nation, accustomed to bloodshed and rapine, and which also beheld the Christians with the utmost aversion, must have been every where detrimental to the progress of the gospel, and to the tranquillity of the Church. In the East, more especially, a prodigious number of Christian families embraced the religion of their conquerors, that they might live in the peaceful enjoyment of their possessions. Many, indeed, refused this base
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and criminal compliance, and with a pious magnanimity adhered to their principles in the face of persecution; but such were gradually reduced to a miserable condition, and were not only robbed of the best part of their wealth, and deprived of their worldly advantages, but, what was still more deplorable, they fell by degrees into such incredible ignorance and stupidity, that, in process of time, there were scarcely any remains of Christianity to be found among them besides the mere name, and a few external rites and ceremonies. The European Saracens, particularly those who were settled in *Spain*, were of a much milder disposition, and seemed to have put off the greatest part of their native ferocity; so that the Christians, generally speaking, lived peaceably under their dominion, and were permitted to observe the laws and to enjoy the privileges of their holy profession. It must, however, be confessed, that this mild and tolerating conduct of the Saracens was not without some few exceptions of cruelty.

(c)

THE European Christians had the most cruel sufferings to undergo from another quarter, even from the insatiable fury of a swarm of barbarians that issued out from the Northern provinces. The Normans, under which general term are comprehended the Danes, Norwegians and Swedes, whose habitations lay along the coasts of the Baltic sea, were a people

(c) See, for example, the account that is given of Eulogius, who suffered Martyrdom at *Cordoua*, in the *Acta Sanctorum ad d. xi. Martii*, tom. ii. p. 88; as also of Roderick and Salomon, two Spanish Martyrs of this century. *Ibid.* ad d. xiii. Martii, p. 238.

ple accustomed to carnage and rapine. Their petty Kings and Chiefs, who subsisted by piracy and plunder, had already, during the reign of Charlemagne, infested with their fleets the coasts of the German ocean, but were restrained by the opposition they met with from the vigilance and activity of that warlike prince. In this century, however, they became more bold and enterprising, made frequent irruptions into *Germany*, *Britain*, *Friesland*, and the Gauls, and carried along with them, wherever they went, fire and sword, desolation and horror. The impetuous fury of these savage barbarians not only spread desolation through the *Spanish* provinces, (f) but even penetrated into the very heart of *Italy*; for in the year 857, they sacked and pillaged the city of *Luna* in the most cruel manner, and about three years after *Pisa*, and several other cities of *Italy*, met with the same fate. (g) The ancient histories of the Franks abound with the most dismal accounts of their horrid exploits.

THE first views of these savage invaders extended no further than

(f) Jo. de Ferraras, *Histoire Génér. d'Espagne*, tom. ii. p. 583. Piracy was esteemed among the Northern nations a very honourable and noble profession; and hence the sons of kings, and the young nobility, were trained up to this species of robbery, and made it their principal business to perfect themselves in it. Nor will this appear very surprizing to such as consider the religion of these nations, and the barbarism of the times. See Jo. Lud. Holberg. *Historia Danorum et Norvegorum Navalis*, in *Scriptis Societatis Scientiar, Hafniensis*, tom. iii. p. 349. in which there are a multitude of curious and interesting relations concerning the ancient piracies, drawn from the Danish and Norwegian annals.

(g) See the *Scriptores Rerum Italicarum*, published by Muratori.

than plunder ; but charmed at length with the beauty and fertility of the provinces, which they were so cruelly depopulating, they began to form settlements in them, nor were the European Princes in a condition to oppose their usurpations. On the contrary, Charles the Bald was obliged, in the year 850, to resign a considerable part of his dominions to this powerful banditti (h) ; and a few years after, under the reign of Charles the Gros, Emperor and King of *France*, the famous Norman Chief Godofred entered with an army into *Friesland*, and obstinately refused to sheath his sword before he was master of the whole province. (i) Such, however, of the Normans as settled among the Christians, contracted a gentler turn of mind, and gradually departed from their primitive brutality. Their marriages with the Christians contributed, no doubt, to civilize them ; and engaged them to abandon the superstition of their ancestors with more facility, and to embrace the gospel with more readiness than they would have otherwise done. Thus the proud conqueror of *Friesland* solemnly embraced the Christian religion after that he had received in marriage, from Charles the Gros, Gisela, the daughter of Lothaire the younger.

(h) *Annales incerti Auctoris*, in Pithoci Scriptor. Francic. p. 46.

(i) *Reginonis Prumienfis Annal.* lib. ii. f. 60. in Pistorii Scriptor. German.

C H A P. III.

Concerning the Ministers of the Church, and its form of Government, during the Ninth Century.

THE impiety and licentiousness of the greatest part of the Clergy arose, at this time, to an enormous height, and stand, upon record, in the unanimous complaints of the most candid and impartial writers of this century. (k) In the East, tumult, discord, conspiracies and treasons reigned uncontrouled, and all things were carried by violence and force. These abuses appeared in many things, but particularly in the election of the Patriarchs of *Constantinople*. The favour of the Court was become the only step to that high and important office; and as the Patriarch's continuance in that eminent post depended upon such an uncertain and precarious foundation, nothing was more usual than to see a Prelate pulled down from his Episcopal throne by an imperial decree. In the Western provinces, the Bishops were become voluptuous and effeminate to a very high degree. They passed their lives amidst the splendor of courts, and the pleasures of a luxurious indolence, which corrupted their taste, extinguished their zeal, and rendered them incapable of performing the solemn duties of their function, (l) while the inferior Clergy were sunk in licentiousness,

(k) See Agobardus, *De privilegiis et jure Sacerdotii*, l. 13. p. 137. tom. i. Opp. ed. Baluzii.

(l) The reader will be convinced of this by consulting Agobard, *passim*, and by looking over the laws enacted in the Latin councils for restraining the disorders of the Clergy. See also Servatus Lupus, *Epist.* xxxv. p. 73. 281. and Steph. Baluz. in *Adnot.* p. 372.

ousness, minded nothing but sensual gratifications, and infected, with the most heinous vices, the flock, whom it was the very business of their ministry to preserve, or to deliver, from the contagion of iniquity. Besides, the ignorance of the sacred order was, in many places, so deplorable, that few of them could either read or write; and still fewer were capable of expressing their wretched notions with any degree of method or perspicuity. Hence it happened, that when letters were to be penned, or any matter of consequence was to be committed to writing, they had commonly recourse to some one person who was supposed to be endowed with superior abilities, as appears in the case of Servatus Lupus (m.)

MANY circumstances concurred, particularly in the European nations, to produce and augment this corruption and licentiousness, so shameful in an order of men, who were set apart to exhibit examples of piety to the rest of the world. Among these we may reckon, as the chief sources of the evil under consideration, the calamities of the times, even the bloody and perpetual wars that were carried on between Lewis the Meek, and his family, the incursions and conquests of the barbarous nations, the gross and incredible ignorance of the nobility, and the affluence and riches that flowed in upon the Churches and religious seminaries from all quarters. Many other causes also contributed to dishonour the Church

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(m) See the works of Servatus Lupus, *Epist.* xcvi. xcix. p. 126, 142, 143, 148, as also his *Life*. See also Rodolphi *Bituricensis Capitula ad clerum suum*, in Baluzii *Miscellaneis*, tom. vi. p. 139, 148.

by introducing into it a corrupt Ministry. A nobleman, who, through want of talents, activity, or courage, was rendered incapable of appearing with dignity in the cabinet, or with honour in the field, immediately turned his views towards the Church, aimed at a distinguished place among its chiefs and rulers, and became, in consequence, a contagious example of stupidity and vice to the inferior Clergy (n). The patrons of Churches, in whom resided the right of election, unwilling to submit their disorderly conduct to the keen censure of zealous and upright pastors, industriously looked for the most abject, ignorant, and worthless ecclesiastics, to whom they committed the cure of souls (o). But one of the circumstances, which contributed in a particular manner to render, at least, the higher Clergy wicked and depraved, and to take off their minds from the duties of their station, was the obligation they were under of performing certain services their Sovereigns, in consequence of the possessions they derived from the Royal bounty. The Bishops and heads of Monasteries held many lands and castles by a feudal tenure; and being thereby bound to furnish their Princes with a certain number of soldiers in time of war, were obliged also to take the field themselves at the head of these troops (p), and thus

(n) Hincmarus, *Oper. Posterior. contra Godescalcum*, cap. xxxvi. tom. i. Opp. p. 318. Servatus Lupus, *Epist.* lxxix. p. 120.

(o) Agobardus, *De privilegiis et jure sacerdotum*, cap. xi. p. 341, tom. i. Opp.

(p) Steph. Baluzii *Appendix Aëor ad Servatum*, p. 508. Muratori *Antiq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. ii. p. 446. Mabillon, *Annal.*

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thus to act in a sphere that was utterly inconsistent with the nature and duties of their sacred character. Besides all this, it often happened, that rapacious Princes, in order to satisfy the craving wants of their soldiers and domestics, boldly invaded the possessions of the Church, which they distributed among their armies; and in consequence of which the Priests and Monks, in order to avoid perishing through hunger, abandoned themselves to the practice of violence, fraud, and all sorts of crimes, which they looked upon as the only means, they had left, of procuring themselves a subsistence (q).

THE Roman Pontiffs were raised to that high dignity by the suffrages of the Sacerdotal Order, accompanied with the voice of the people; but, after their election, the approbation of the Emperor was necessary in order to their consecration (r). There is indeed, yet extant, an edict, supposed to have been published in the year 817, by Lewis the Meek, in which he abolishes this imperial right, and grants

Annal. Benedic. tom. vi. 587. Fresne, *ad Joinvillii. Hist. Ludovicii S.* p. 75, 76.

(q) Agobardus *de dispons. rerum Ecclesiast.* § 4. p. 270. tom. i. Opp. Flodoardus, *Histor. Eccles. Rbemensis*, lib. iii. cap. ix. Servatus Lupus, *Epist.* xlv. p. 87, 437, &c. Muratori, tom. vi. *Antiq. Ital. medii ævii.* p. 302. Lud: Thomasin, *Disciplina Ecclesiæ vet. & novæ circa beneficia*, part II. lib. iii. cap. xi. These corrupt measures prevailed also among the Greeks and Lombards, as may be seen in the *Oriens Christianus* of Lequien, tom. i. p. 142.

(r) See De Bünau, *Histor. Imper. German.* tom. iii. p. 28, 32.

grants to the Romans, not only the power of electing their Pontiff, but also the privilege of installing and consecrating him when elected, without waiting for the consent of the Emperor (s). But this grant will deceive none, who inquire into this matter with any degree of attention and diligence, since several learned men have proved it spurious by the most irresistible arguments (t). It must, however, be confessed, that after the time of Charles the Bald, a new scene of things arose; and the important change above-mentioned was really introduced. That Prince having obtained the imperial dignity by the good offices of the Bishop of *Rome*, returned this eminent service by delivering the succeeding Pontiffs from the obligation of waiting for the consent of the Emperors, in order to their being installed in their office. And thus we find, that from the time of Eugenius III. who was raised to the Pontificate, A. D. 884, the election of the Bishops of *Rome* was carried on without the least regard to law, order, or even decency, and was generally attended with civil tumults and dissensions, until the reign of Otho the Great, who put a stop to these disorderly proceedings.

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(s) Harduini *Concilia*, tom. iv. p. 1236. Le Cointe, *Annales Eccles. Francor.* tom. vii. ad A. 817. f. 6. Baluzii *Capitular. Regum Francor.* tom. i. p. 591.

(t) Muratori *Droits de l'Empire sur l'Etat Ecclesiast.* p. 54. and *Antiq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. iii. p. 29, 30, in which that learned man conjectures, that this edict was forged in the eleventh century. Bünau, *Hist. Imper. German.* tom. iii. p. 34. The partisans however, of the papal authority, such as Fontanini and others, plead strenuously, though ineffectually, for the authenticity of the edict in question.

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AMONG the Prelates that were raised to the Pontificate, in his century, there were very few, who distinguished themselves by their learning, prudence, and virtue, or were at all careful about acquiring those particular qualities that are essential to the character of a Christian Bishop. On the contrary, the greatest part of them are only known by the flagitious actions that have transmitted their names with infamy to our times; and they all, in general, seem to have vied with each other in their ambitious efforts to extend their authority, and render their dominion unlimited and universal. It is here that we may place, with propriety, an event, which is said to have interrupted the much-vaunted succession of regular Bishops, in the see of *Rome*, from the first foundation of that Church to the present times. Between the Pontificate of Leo IV. who died in the year 855, and that of Benedict III. a certain woman, who had the art to disguise her sex for a considerable time, is said by learning, genius, and dexterity, to have made good her way to the Papal chair, and to have governed the Church with the title and dignity of Pontiff above two years. This extraordinary person is yet known by the title of Pope Joan. During the five succeeding centuries, this event was generally believed, and a vast number of writers bore testimony to its truth; nor, before the reformation undertaken by Luther, was it considered by any, either as incredible in itself, or as ignominious to the Church (u). But in the

(u) The arguments of those who maintain the truth of this extraordinary event are collected in one striking point of view, with great learning and industry, by Fred. Spanheim, in his *Exercitatio de papa Femina*, tom. ii. Opp. p. 77. This dissertation

the last century, the elevation and indeed the existence, of this female Pontiff, became the subject of a learned controversy; in this, several men of distinguished abilities were concerned. They grant that many fictitious and fabulous circumstances have been interwoven with this story; but they deny that it is entirely destitute of all foundation; indeed, upon a deliberate and impartial view of this whole matter, it will appear more than probable, than some unusual event must have happened at *Rome*, from which this story derived its origin; because it is not at all credible, from any principles of moral evidence, that an event should be universally believed and related in the same manner by a multitude of historians, during five centuries immediately succeeding its supposed date, if that event was absolutely destitute of all foundation. But what it was that gave rise to this story, is yet to be discovered, and is likely to remain so (w).

THE enormous vices, that must have covered so many Pontiffs with infamy in the judgment of the wise, formed not the least

was translated into French by the celebrated Lefant, who digested it into a better method, and enriched it with several additions.

(w) Such is the opinion of Paul Sarpi, in his *Lettere Italiane*, Lett. lxxxii. p. 452; of Lafant, *Biblioth. Germanique*, tom. x. p. 27; of Theod. Haseus, *Biblioth. Bremens.* tom. viii. part w. p. 935; and of the celebrated Pfaff *Instit. Hiflor. Eccles.* p. 402; to whom we might add Wernsdorff, Boecler, Holberg, and many others, were this enumeration necessary. Without assuming the character of a Judge in this intricate controversy, concerning which so many false decisions have been pronounced, I shall only take the liberty to observe that the matter in debate is as yet dubious, and has not on either side been represented in such a light as to bring conviction.

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least obstacle to their ambition in these miserable times, nor hindered them from extending their influence, and augmenting their authority, both in Church and State. It does not, indeed, appear from any authentic records, that their possessions augmented in proportion to the progress of their authority, nor that any new grants of land were added to what they had already obtained from the liberality of the Kings of *France*.

THE donations, which Lewis the Meek is reported to have made to them, are mere inventions equally destitute of truth and probability; and nothing is more groundless than the accounts of those writers who affirm that Charles the Bald divested himself, in the year 875, of his right to the city of *Rome*, and its territory, in favour of the Pontiffs, whom he, at the same time, enriched with a variety of noble and costly presents, in return for the good services of John VIII. by whose succours he was raised to the empire. But be that as it may, it is certain, that the authority and affluence of the Bishops of *Rome* increased greatly from the time of Lewis the Meek, but more especially from the accession of Charles the Bald to the imperial throne, as all the historical records of that period abundantly testify (x).

AFTER the death of Lewis II. a fierce and dreadful war broke out between the posterity of Charlemagne, among which there were several competitors for the empire. This

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(x) Bunau, *Histor. Imperii Rom. German.* tom. iii. p. 482.
Jo. George Eccard, *Histor. Francia Orient.* tom. ii. lib. xxxi.
p. 606.

furnished the Italian Princes, and the Roman Pontiff John VIII. with a favourable opportunity of assuming to themselves the right of nominating to the imperial throne, and of excluding from all part in this election the nations who had formerly the right of suffrage; and if the opportunity was favourable, it was seized with avidity, and improved with the utmost dexterity and zeal. Their favour and interest was earnestly solicited by Charles the Bald, whose entreaties were rendered effectual by rich presents, prodigious sums of money, and most pompous promises in consequence of which he was proclaimed A. D. 876, by the Pontiff John VIII. and by the Italian Princes assembled at *Pavia*, King of *Italy*, and Emperor of the Romans. Carloman and Charles the Gross, who succeeded him in the kingdom of *Italy*, and in the Roman empire, were also elected by the Roman Pontiff, and the Italian Princes. After the reigns of these Princes the empire was torn in pieces; the most deplorable tumults and commotions arose in *Italy*, *France*, and *Germany*, which were governed, or rather subdued and usurped, by various chiefs, and in this confused scene of things, the highest bidder was, by the succour of the greedy Pontiffs, generally raised to the Government of *Italy*, and to the imperial throne (y).

Thus the power and influence of the Pontiffs, in civil affairs, arose in a short time to an enormous height through
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(y) This matter is amply illustrated by Sigonius, in his famous book *de Regno Italiae*, and by the other writers of German and Italian history.

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the favour and protection of the Princes, in whose cause they had employed the influence, which superstition had given them over the minds of the people. The increase of their authority, in religious matters, was not less rapid, nor less considerable, and it arose from the same causes. The wisest and most impartial among the Roman Catholick writers not only acknowledge, but are even at pains to demonstrate, that, from the time of Lewis the Meek, the ancient rules of ecclesiastical Government were gradually changed in *Europe* by the counsels and instigation of the court of *Rome*, and new laws substituted in their place. The European Princes suffered themselves to be divested of the supreme authority in religious matters, which they had derived from Charlemagne; the power of the Bishops was greatly diminished, and even the authority of both provincial and general councils began to decline. The Roman Pontiffs, elated with this overgrown prosperity, and become arrogant, beyond measure, by the daily accessions that were made to their authority, were eagerly bent upon persuading all, and had, indeed, the good fortune to persuade many, that the Bishop of *Rome* was constituted and appointed, by Jesus Christ, Supreme Legislator and Judge of the Church Universal; and that, therefore, the Bishops derived all their authority from the Roman Pontiff, nor could the councils determine any thing without his permission and consent (z).

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(z) See the excellent work of an anonymous and unknown author, who signs himself D. B. and whose book is entitled, *Histoire du Droit Ecclesiastique*, published at first in *London* in two volumes 8vo. in the year 1737, and lately republished in a larger and more splendid edition. The author of this performance,

This opinion which was inculcated by the Pontiffs with the utmost zeal and ardour, was opposed by such as were acquainted with the ancient ecclesiastical constitutions, and the Government of the Church in the earlier ages; but it was opposed in vain.

IN order to gain credit to this new ecclesiastical system, so different from the ancient rules of Church Government, and to support the haughty pretensions of the Pontiffs to supremacy and independence, it was necessary to produce the authority of ancient deeds, to stop the mouths of such as were disposed to set bounds to their usurpations. The Bishops of Rome were aware of this, and as those means were looked upon as the most lawful that tended best to the accomplishment of their purposes, they employed some of their most ingenious and zealous partizans in forging conventions, acts of councils, epistles, and such like records, by which it might appear, that, in the first ages of the Church, the Roman Pontiffs were clothed with the same spiritual majesty and supreme authority which they now assumed (a).

AMONG

ance shews, in a judicious and concise manner, the various steps by which the papal authority arose to such a monstrous height. His account of the ninth century may be seen in the first volume of his work, at the 160th page.

(a) There is just reason to imagine, that these *Decretals*, and various other acts, such as the grants of Charlemagne and Lewis the Meek, were forged with the knowledge and consent of the Roman Pontiffs; since it is utterly incredible, that these Pontiffs should, for many ages, have constantly appealed, in support of their pretended rights and privileges, to acts and records that

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AMONG these fictitious supports of the papal dignity, the famous *decretal epistles*, as they are called, said to have been written by the Pontiffs of the primitive times, deserve chiefly to be stigmatized. They were the productions of an obscure writer, who fraudulently prefixed to them the name of Isidore, Bishop of Seville (b), to make the world believe they had been collected by that illustrious and learned Prelate. Some of them had appeared in the eighth century (c), but they were

were only the fictions of private persons, and should, with such weak arms, have stood out against Kings, Princes, Councils, and Bishops, who were unwilling to receive their yoke. Acts of a private nature would have been useless here, and public deeds were necessary to accomplish the views of Papal ambition. Such forgeries were, in this century, esteemed lawful, on account of their supposed tendency to promote the glory of God, and to advance the prosperity of the Church: and, therefore, it is not surprizing, that the *good* Pontiffs should feel no remorse in imposing upon the world frauds and forgeries, that were designed to enrich the patrimony of St. Peter, and to aggrandize his successors in the Apostolic See.

(b) It is certain, that the forger of the *decretals* was extremely desirous of persuading the world, that they were collected by Isidore, the celebrated Bishop of *Seville*, who lived in the Sixth century. See Fabricii *Biblioth. Latin. medii ævi*, tom. v. p. 561. It was a custom among the Bishops to add, from a principle of humility, the epithet *Peccator*, i. e. *Sinner*, to their titles; and, accordingly, the forger of the *decretals* has added the word *Peccator* after the name of Isidore: but this some ignorant transcribers have absurdly changed into the word *Mercator*; and hence it happens, that one Isidorus Mercator passes for the fraudulent collector, or forger of the *decretals*.

(c) See Don. Calmet, *Histoire de Lorraine*, tom. i. p. 528. B. Just. Hen. Böhrmer. *Pref. ad novem Edit. Juris Canon.* tom. i. p. x. xix. No:.

were now entirely drawn from their obscurity, and produced, with an air of ostentation and triumph, to demonstrate the supremacy of the Roman Pontiffs. (d) The decisions of a certain Roman council, which is said to have been held during the pontificate of Silvester, were likewise alledged in behalf of the same cause; but this council had never been so much as heard of before the present century, and the accounts now given of it proceeded from the same source with the *decretals*, and were equally authentic. Be that as it may, the decrees of this pretended council contributed much to enrich and aggrandize the Roman Pontiffs, and exalt them above all human authority and jurisdiction. (e)

THERE were not, however, wanting among the Latin Bishops, men of prudence and sagacity, who saw through these impious frauds, and perceived the chains that were forging both for them and for the church. The French Bishops distinguished themselves, in a particular and glorious manner, by the vehemence with which they opposed the spurious *decretals*,

(d) Besides the authors of the *Centuriæ Magdeburgenses*, and other writers, the learned Blondel has demonstrated in an ample and satisfactory manner, the spuriousness of the *decretals*, in his *Pseudo Isidorus et Turrianus vapulantes*; and in our time the cheat is acknowledged even by the Roman Catholics, at least by such of them as are possessed of any tolerable degree of judgment and impartiality. See Buddeus's *Isagoge in Theologiam*, tom. ii. p. 762; as also Petr. Coustantius's *Prolegom. ad Epistolas Pontificum*, tom. i. p. 130; and a *Dissertation of Fleury*, prefixed to the Sixteenth volume of his *Ecclesiastical History*.

(e) See Jo. Launoius, *de cura Ecclesiæ ergo pauperes et miseræ*, cap. i. Observat. i. p. 57. tom. ii. part II. Opp.

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cretals, and other like fictitious monuments and records, and protested against their being received among the laws of the Church. But the obstinacy of the Pontiffs, and particularly of Nicolas I. conquered this opposition, and reduced it to silence. And as the Empire, in the periods that succeeded this contest, fell back into the grossest ignorance and darkness, there scarcely remained any who were capable of detecting these odious impostures, or disposed to support the expiring liberty of the church. The history of the following ages shews, in a multitude of deplorable examples, the disorders and calamities that sprung from the ambition of the aspiring Pontiffs; it represents these despotic lords of the church, labouring by the aid of their impious frauds to overturn its antient government, to undermine the authority of its Bishops, to engross its riches and revenues into their own hands; nay, what is still more horrible, it represents them aiming perfidious blows at the thrones of Princes, and endeavouring to lessen their power, and to set bounds to their dominion. All this is unanimously acknowledged by such as have looked with attention and impartiality, into the history of the times of which we now write, and is ingenuously confessed by men of learning and probity, that are well affected to the Romish Church and its Sovereign Pontiff. (f)

THE Monastic life was now universally in the highest esteem, and nothing could equal the veneration that was paid to

(f) See the above-mentioned Author's treatise, entitled, *Regia Potestas in Causis Matrimonial.* tom. i. part II. Opp. p. 764; as also Petr. Constantius, *Præf. ad Epist. Romanor. Pontif.* tom. i. p. 127.

to such as devoted themselves to the sacred gloom and indolence of a convent. The Greeks and Orientals had been long accustomed to regard the Monkish orders and discipline with the greatest admiration; but it was only since the beginning of the last century that this holy passion was indulged among the Latins to such an extravagant length. In the present age it went beyond all bounds: Kings, Dukes and Counts forgot their true dignity, even the fulfilling with zeal the duties of their high stations, and affected that contempt of the world and its grandeur, which they took for magnanimity, though it was really nothing else but the result of a narrow and superstitious spirit.

C H A P. IV.

Concerning the Doctrine of the Christian Church in the Ninth Century.

THE zeal of Charlemagne for the interests of Christianity, and his liberality to the learned, encouraged many to apply themselves diligently to the study of the Scriptures, and to the pursuit of religious truth, and as long as this eminent set of divines remained, the Western provinces were happily preserved from many errors, and from a variety of superstitious practices. Thus we find among the writers of this age several men of eminent talents, whose productions shew that the lustre of true erudition and theology was not, as yet, totally eclipsed. But these illustrious luminaries of the church disappeared one after the other, and barbarism and ignorance, encouraged by their departure, resumed their ancient seats, and brought in their train, a prodigious multitude of devout follies, odious superstitions, and abominable errors. Nor did any encourage and propagate with more zeal and ardour these superstitious innovations, than the Sacerdotal orders, the Spiritual guides of a deluded people. And if we enquire how it came to pass, that the clergy were so zealous in such an inglorious cause, we shall find that this zeal was, in some, the effect of ignorance, and, in others, the fruit of avarice and ambition; since much was to be gained both in point of authority and opulence from the progress of superstition. Christianity among

the Greeks and Orientals was almost in the same declining and deplorable state; though there arose, from time to time, in the Eastern provinces, men of superior abilities, who endeavoured to support the cause of true religion, and to raise it from the pressures under which it laboured.

THE causes of this unhappy revolution, that covered the church with superstition and darkness, will appear evident to such as are at all acquainted with the history of these times. The Oriental Doctors, miserably divided among themselves, and involved in the bitterest contentions and quarrels with the Western churches, lost all notion of the true spirit and genius of Christianity, and, corrupted and biased by the prejudices and passions that are generally excited and nourished by ill-managed controversy, became incapable of promoting the true and essential interests of religion. Intent also upon defending the excellence and divine authority of their doctrine and discipline against the Latin doctors, and in maintaining among themselves the worship of images, which began to be warmly opposed, they advanced many things in the course of these disputes, that were highly erroneous, and as one error follows another, their number increased from day to day. The savage and unnatural lives of the Monks and Hermits, whose number was prodigious, and whose authority was considerable, who haunted the woods and deserts, the gloomy scenes of their extravagant devotion, contributed much, among other causes, to the decay of solid and rational piety. Add to all this, the irruptions of the barbarous nations into the West, the atrocious exploits of usurping Princes, the drooping

ing and neglected condition of all the various branches of learning, the ambitious frenzy of the Roman Pontiffs, who were incessantly gaping after new accessions of authority and dominion, the frauds and tricks of the Monastic orders carried on under the specious mask of religion, and when we shall see the true causes that founded the empire of superstition and error upon the ruin of virtue, piety and reason.

THE ignorance and corruption that dishonoured the Christian Church, in this century, were great beyond measure; and were there no other examples of their enormity upon record, than the single instance of that stupid veneration that was paid to the bones and carcases of departed Saints; this would be sufficient to convince us of the deplorable progress of superstition. This idolatrous devotion was now considered as the most sacred and momentous branch of religion, nor did any dare to entertain the smallest hopes of finding the Deity propitious, before they had assured themselves of the protection and intercession of some one or other of the faintly order. Hence it was that every Church, and indeed every private Christian, had their particular patron among the Saints, from an apprehension that their spiritual interests would be but indifferently managed by those, who were already employed about the souls of others; for they judged, in this respect, of the Saints as they did of mortals, whose capacity is too limited to comprehend a vast variety of objects. This notion rendered it necessary to multiply prodigiously the number of the Saints, and to create daily new patrons for the deluded people; and this was done with the utmost zeal. The Priests and Monks

set their invention at work, and peopled, at discretion, the invisible world with imaginary protectors. They dispelled the thick darkness, which covered the pretended spiritual exploits of many holy men; and they invented both names and histories of Saints (g) that never existed, that they might not be at a loss to furnish the credulous and wretched multitude with objects proper to perpetuate their superstition and to nourish their confidence. Many chose their own guides, and committed their spiritual interests either to phantoms of their own creation, or to distracted fanatics, whom they esteemed as Saints, for no other reason than their having lived like mad-men.

THE Ecclesiastical councils found it necessary, at length, to set limits to the licentious superstition of those ignorant wretches, who, with a view to have still more friends at court, for such were their gross notions of things, were daily adding new Saints to the list of their celestial mediators. They, accordingly, declared by a solemn decree, that no departed Christian should be considered as a member of the saintly order, before the Bishop in a provincial council, and in presence of the people had pronounced him worthy of that distinguished honour. (h) This remedy, feeble and illusory

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(g) See Dr. Middleton's letter from *Rome, passim*, in which we find the names of St. Baccho, St. Viar, St. Amphibolus, Euodia, &c.

(h) Mabillon, *Act. Sanctor. Ord. Benedicti, Sac. v. Pras.* p. 44. Launoy, *de Lazari, Magdalene, et Marthe in Provinciam appulsu*, cap. i. f. 12. p. 342. tom. ii. part I. Opp. Franc. *Pagi Breviarium Pontif. Romanor.* tom. ii. p. 259 tom. iii. p. 30.

as it was, contributed, in some measure, to restrain the fanatical temerity of the Saint-makers; but, in its consequences, it was the occasion of a new accession of power to the Roman Pontiff. Even so early as this century many were of opinion, that it was proper and expedient, though not absolutely necessary, that the decisions of bishops and councils should be confirmed by the consent and authority of the Roman Pontiff, whom they considered as the supreme and universal Bishop; and this will not appear surprizing to any who will reflect upon the enormous strides, which the Bishops of *Rome* made towards unbounded dominion in this barbarous and superstitious age, whose corruption and darkness were peculiarly favourable to their ambitious pretensions. It is true we have no example of any person solemnly fainted by the Bishop of *Rome* alone, before the Xth century (i), when Udalric, Bishop of *Augsburg*, received this dignity in a formal manner from John XV. It is however certain that before that time, the Roman Pontiffs were consulted in matters of that nature, and their judgment respected in the choice of those, that were to be honoured with saintship (k); and it was by such steps as these,

(i) See Dan. Papebrochius, *de Solennium canonisationum initiis et progress. in Propylæ Actor. Sanct. Mens. Maii*, p. 171; and the other authors who have written upon this subject, of which there is an ample list in the *Bibliographia Antiquar.* of Fabricius, cap. vii. f. 25. p. 270.

(k) See the candid and impartial account that is given of this matter by the late Pope Benedict XIV in his laborious work, *de Servorum Dei beatificatione et beatorum canonizatione*, lib. i. cap. vii. p. 50. tom. i. Opp. edit. *Roman.* It were to be wished, that historians of the Church of *Rome* would learn to imitate the prudence, moderation, and equity of that illustrious Pontiff.

these, that the Church of *Rome* engrossed to itself the creation of these tutelary divinities, which, at length, was distinguished by the title of *Canonization*.

THIS preposterous multiplication of Saints was a new source of abuses and frauds. It was thought necessary to write the lives of these celestial patrons, in order to procure for them the veneration and confidence of a deluded multitude; and here lying wonders were invented, and all the resources of forgery and fable exhausted to celebrate exploits which had never existed. We have yet extant a prodigious quantity of these trifling legends, the greatest part of which were, undoubtedly, forged after the time of Charlemagne by the Monastic writers, who had both the inclination and leisure to edify the Church by these pious frauds. The same impostors, who peopled the celestial regions with fictitious Saints, employed also their fruitful inventions in embellishing with false miracles, and various other impertinent forgeries, the history of those who had been really Martyrs or Confessors in the cause of Christ; these fictions, however, did not pass with impunity, but were severely censured by some of the most eminent writers of the times in which they were imposed upon the credulity of the public. (1) Various were the motives

(1) See Servatus Lupus's *Vita Maximini*, p. 275, 276 and the candid and learned observations upon this subject that are to be found in various places of the works of the celebrated Launoy: e. g. in his *Dispositio Epistolæ Petri de Merca, de tempore quo in Gallia Christi fides recepta*, cap. xiv. p. 110. in his *Dissertationes de primis Christianæ relig. in Gallia initiis*, Diff. ii. p. 142, 144, 145, 147, 162, 169, 181. *De Lazari, Magdal. et Marthe in Galliam*

tives that engaged different persons to propagate, or countenance these impostures. Some were excited to this by the seductions of a false devotion, which reigned in this perverse and ignorant age, and made them imagine that departed Saints were highly delighted with the applauses and veneration of mortals, and never failed to crown with peculiar marks of their favour and protection such as were zealous in honouring their memories, and in celebrating their exploits. The prospect of gain, and the ambitious desire of being revered by the multitude, engaged others to multiply the number and to maintain the credit of the legends, or faintly registers. For the Churches that were dedicated to the Saints, were perpetually crowded with supplicants, who flocked to them with rich presents in order to obtain succour under the afflictions they suffered, or deliverance from the dangers which they had reason to apprehend. And it was esteemed also a high honour to be the more immediate ministers of these tutelary mediators, who, as it is likewise proper to observe, were esteemed and frequented in proportion to their antiquity, and to the number and importance of the pretended miracles that had rendered their lives illustrious. This latter circumstance offered a strong temptation, to such as were employed by the various churches in writing the lives of their tutelar Saints, to supply by invention the defects of truth, and to embellish their legends with fictitious prodigies; nay, they were not only tempted

appulsi, p. 340. *De Duobus Dionysiis*, p. 527, 529, 530. tom. ii. part I. Opp. See also Martene *Thesaurus Anecdotor.* tom. i. p. 151. *Histoire litteraire de la France*, tom. iv. p. 273.

ed to this imposture, but were even obliged to make use of it in order to swell the fame of their respective patrons. (m)

BUT even all this was insufficient to satisfy the demands of superstition nourished by the stratagems of a corrupt and designing Priesthood, and fomented by the zeal of the more ignorant and stupid sons of the Church. It was not enough to reverence departed Saints, and to confide in their intercession and succours; it was not enough to cloath them with an imaginary power of healing disorders, working miracles, and delivering from all sorts of calamities and dangers; their bones, their cloaths, the apparel, and furniture they had possessed during their lives, the very ground which they had touched, or in which their putrified carcases were laid, were treated with a stupid veneration, and supposed to retain the marvellous virtue of healing all disorders both of body and mind, and of defending such as possessed them against all the assaults and devices of Satan. The consequence of this wretched notion was, that every one was eager to provide himself with these salutary remedies, for which purpose great numbers undertook fatiguing and perilous voyages, and subjected themselves to all sorts of hardships; while others made use of this delusion, to accumulate their riches, and to impose upon the miserable multitude by the most impious and shocking inventions. As the demand for relics was prodigious and universal,

(m) Of all the lives of the Saints written in this century, none are more liable to suspicion than those drawn up by the Britons and Nomans. See Mabillion *Præf. ad Sac. i. Benedictin. sub. init.*

universal, the Clergy employed all their dexterity to satisfy these demands, and were far from being nice in the methods they used for that end. The bodies of the Saints were sought by fasting and prayer instituted by the Priests in order to obtain a divine answer, and an infallible direction, and this pretended direction never failed to accomplish their desires; the holy carcase was always found, and that always in consequence, as they impiously gave out, of the suggestion, and inspiration of God himself. Each discovery of this kind was attended with excessive demonstrations of joy, and animated the zeal of these devout seekers to enrich the Church still more and more with new kind of treasure. Many travelled with this view into the Eastern Provinces, and frequented the places, which Christ and his Disciples had honoured with their presence, that, with the bones and other sacred remains of the first heralds of the Gospel, they might comfort dejected minds, calm trembling consciences, save sinking states, and defend their inhabitants from all sorts of calamities. Nor did these pious travellers return home empty; the craft, dexterity, and knavery of the Greeks found a rich prey in the stupid credulity of the Latin relic-hunters, and made a profitable commerce of this new devotion. The latter paid considerable sums for legs and arms, skulls and jaw bones (several of which were Pagan and some not human) and other things that were supposed to have belonged to the primitive worthies of the Christian Church; and thus the Latin Churches came to the possession of those celebrated relics of St. Mark, St. James, St. Bartholomew, Cyprian, Pantalion, and others, which they shew at this day with so much ostentation. But there

were many, who, unable to procure for themselves these spiritual treasures by voyages and prayers, had recourse to violence and theft; for all sorts of means and all sorts of attempts in a case of this nature were considered, when successful, as pious and acceptable to the Supreme Being (n).

THE study of the holy scriptures languished much among the Greeks in this century. Photius, who composed a book of *questions* (o), relating to various passages of scripture, an *exposition of the Epistles of St. Paul*, and other productions of the same nature (p), was one of the few that employed their talents in the illustration of the sacred writings. He was a man of great sagacity and genius, who preferred the dictates of reason to the decision of authority; notwithstanding all which, he cannot be recommended as a model to other commentators. The other Greek writers, who attempted to explain

(n) See Muratori *Antiq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. v. p. 6. who gives examples of the truth of this assertion.

(o) This work, which is entitled *Amphilochia*, from its having been addressed to Amphilochius, Bishop of *Cyzicum*, consists of 308 questions and answers to them, a sixth part of which, at least, are to be found in the *Epistles of Photius*, published at London in 1651, by Bishop Montague. The most of these questions relate to different texts of the *Old and New Testament*; but these are interspersed with others of a philosophical and literary kind. This work is still extant in MS. in the Vatican, Barbarinian, and Bavarian libraries.

(p) Such as a *Catena*, a *chain*, of commentaries on the book of *Psalms*, compiled from the writings of Athanasius, Basil, Chrysostom &c. and a commentary upon the *Prophets*, both of which are yet extant in MS. the former in the *Bibliotheca Segueriana* or *Cosliniana*, and the latter in the Vatican library.

plain the holy scriptures, did little more than compile and accumulate various passages from the commentators of the preceding ages; and this method was the origin of those *Catenæ*, or chains of commentaries, so much in vogue among the Greeks during this century, of which a considerable number have come down to our time, and which consisted entirely in a collection of the explications of scripture that were scattered up and down in the ancient writers. The greatest part of the theological writers, finding themselves incapable of more arduous undertakings, confined their labours to this compiling method, to the great detriment of sacred criticism.

THE Latin commentators were vastly superior in number to those among the Greeks, which was owing to the zeal and munificence of Charlemagne, who, both by his liberality and by his example, had excited and encouraged the Doctors of the preceding age to the study of the scriptures. Of these expositors there are two, at least, who are worthy of esteem, Christian Druthmar, whose *commentary on St. Matthew*, is come down to our times (q); and the Abbot Bertharius, whose *two books concerning fundamentals*, are also said to be yet extant. The rest seem unequal to the important office of sacred critics, and may be divided into two classes; the class of those, who merely collected and reduced into a mass the opinions and explications of the ancients, and that of a fantastic set of ex-

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positors,

(q) See R. Simon, *Histoire critique des principaux commentateurs, du Nouv. Testament*, chap. xxv. p. 348; as also his *Critique de la Bibliothèque Ecclesiastique de M. du Pin*, tom. i. p. 293, who in his xxvith chap. gives an account of most of the writers mentioned here.

positors, who were always hunting after mysteries in the plainest expressions, and labouring to deduce a variety of abstruse and hidden significations from every passage of scripture, all which they did for the most part in a very clumsy and uncouth manner. At the head of the first class was Rabanus Maurus, who acknowledges that he borrowed from the ancient Doctors the materials he made use of in illustrating the Gospel of St. Matthew, and the Epistles of St. Paul; Walafriid Strabo, who borrowed his explications chiefly from Rabanus; Claudius of *Turin*, who trod in the footsteps of Augustin and Origen; Hincmar, whose *exposition of the tenth book of Kings* compiled from the fathers are yet extant; Remigius of *Auxerre*, who derived from the same source his illustrations on the *Psalms*, and other books of sacred writ: Sedulius, who explained in the same manner the Epistles of St. Paul; Florus, Haymo Bishop of Halberstadt, and others, whom, for the sake of brevity, we pass in silence.

THE defence of Christianity against the Jews and Pagans was greatly neglected in this century, in which the intestine disputes and dissensions that divided the Church gave sufficient employment to such as had an inclination to controversy, or a talent of managing it with dexterity and knowledge. Agobard, however, as also Amulo and Rabanus Maurus, chastised the insolence and malignity of the Jews, and exposed their various absurdities and errors, while the Emperor Leo, Theodorus Abucara, and other writers, whose performances are lost, employed their polemic labours against the progress of the Saracens, and refuted their impious and extravagant system.

system. But it may be observed in general of those, who wrote against the Saracens, that they reported many things, both concerning Mahomet and his religion, which were far from being true; and if, as there is too much reason to imagine, they did this designedly and knowing the falsehood, or at least the uncertainty of what they alleged against these infidels, we must look upon their writings rather as intended to deter the Christians from apostacy, than to give a rational refutation of the Saracen doctrine.

THE contests of the Christians among themselves were carried on with greater eagerness and animosity than the disputes in which they were engaged with the common enemies of their faith; and these contests were daily productive of new calamities and disorders which dishonoured their profession, and cast a heavy, though undeserved reproach upon the cause of true religion. After the banishment of Irene, the controversies concerning images broke out anew among the Greeks, and was carried on by the contending parties, during the half of this century, with various and uncertain success. The Emperor Nicephorus, though he did not abrogate the decrees of the council of *Nice*, nor order the images to be taken out of the Churches, yet deprived the patrons of image-worship of all power to molest or injure their adversaries, and seems upon the whole to have been an enemy to that idolatrous service. But his successor Michael Curopalates, surnamed Rhangabe, acted in a very different manner. Feeble and timorous, and dreading the rage of the Priests and Monks that maintained the cause of images, he favoured that cause during his short reign, and persecuted

persecuted its adversaries with the greatest bitterness and cruelty. The scene changed again, upon the accession of Leo the Armenian to the Empire, who abolished the decrees of the Nicene council relating to the use and worship of images, in a council assembled at *Constantinople*, A. D. 814 (y); without however enacting any penal laws against their idolatrous worshippers. This moderation, far from satisfying the patriarch Nicephorus, and the other partisans of image-worship, only served to encourage their obstinacy, and to increase their insolence; upon which the Emperor removed the haughty Prelate from his office, and chastised the fury of several of his adherents with a deserved punishment. His successor Michael, surnamed Balbus, or the *flammerer*, was obliged to observe the same conduct, and to depart from the clemency and indulgence, which, in the beginning of his reign, he had discovered towards the worshippers of images, whose idolatry, however, he was far from approving; the Monks more especially provoked his indignation by their fanatical rage, and forced him to treat them with particular severity. But the zeal of his son and successor Theophilus, in discouraging this new idolatry, was still more vehement; for he opposed the worshippers of images with great violence, and went so far as to put to death some of the more obstinate ringleaders of that impetuous faction. Upon the death of Theophilus, which happened in the year 842, the regency was entrusted with the Empress Theodora during her son's minority.

(y) Fleury and some other writers place the meeting of this council in the year 815.

minority. This superstitious Princess, fatigued with the importunate solicitations of the Monks, deluded by their forged miracles, and not a little influenced also by their insolent threats, assembled in the year above-mentioned, a council at *Constantinople*, in which the decrees of the second Nicene council were re-instated in their lost authority, and the Greeks were indulged in their corrupt propensity to image-worship by a law which encouraged that wretched idolatry.

(2) So that after a controversy, which had been carried on during the space of an hundred and ten years, the cause of idolatry triumphed over the dictates of reason and Christianity; the whole East, the Armenians excepted, bowed down before the victorious images; nor did any of the succeeding Emperors attempt to cure the Greeks of this superstitious frenzy, or restrain them in the performance of this childish worship. The council that was held at *Constantinople* under Phoitus, in the year 879, and which is reckoned by the Greeks the *eighth general council*, gave a farther degree of force and vigour to idolatry, by maintaining the sanctity of images, and approving, confirming, and renewing the Nicene decrees. The superstitious Greeks, who were blind-ied by the Monks in the most ignominious manner, esteemed this council as a most signal blessing derived to them from the immediate interposition of Heaven, and accordingly instituted in commemoration thereof

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(2) See Fred. Spanheim, *Historia Imaginum*, sect. viii. p. 845, tom. ii. Opp.—Lenfant, *Preservatif contre la Reunion avec le Siege de Rome*, tom. iii. lettre xiv. p. 147. lett. xviii, xix. p. 509.

an univerfal festival, which was called the *Fest of Orthodoxy* (a).

THE triumph of images, notwithstanding the zealous efforts of Roman Pontiffs in their favour, was obtained with much more difficulty among the Latins, than it had been among the Greeks; for the former maintained as yet that invaluable and indeed inalienable, privilege of judging for themselves in religious matters, and were far from being disposed to submit their reason implicitly to the decisions of the Pontiff, or to look upon any thing as infallible and true, which had authority for its only foundation. The most of the European Christians, as we have seen already, steered a middle course between the idolaters and the Iconoclasts, between those who were zealous for the worship of images, on the one hand, and those who were averse to all use of them on the other. They were of opinion that images might be suffered as the means of aiding the memory of the faithful, and of calling to their remembrance the pious exploits and the virtuous actions of the persons they represented; but they detested all thoughts of paying them the least marks of religious homage or adoration. Michael Balbus, when he sent in the year 824, a solemn embassy to Lewis the Meek, to renew and confirm the treaties of friendship and peace that had been concluded between his predecessors in the empire and Charlemagne, charged his Ministers,

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(a) See Græffer. *Observat. in Codicum de officiis Aulae et Eccles. Constantinopolitanae*, lib. iii. c. viii. as also the *Ceremoniale Byzantium* lately published by Reish, lib. i. c. xxviii, p. 92,

in a particular manner, to bring over the King of the Franks (b) to the party of the Iconoclasts, that they might gradually suppress, by their united influence, the worship of images, and thus restore concord and tranquillity to the Church. Lewis, upon this occasion assembled a council at *Paris*, A. D. 824 (c), in order to examine the proposal of the Grecian Emperor, in which it was resolved to adhere to the decrees of the council of *Frankfort*, which allowed the use of images in the Churches, but severely prohibited treating them with the smallest marks of religious *worship*. But in process of time the European Christians departed gradually from the observance of this injunction, and fell imperceptibly into a blind submission to the decisions of the Roman Pontiff, whose influence and authority grew more formidable from day to day. So that towards the conclusion of this century, the Gallican Clergy began to pay a certain kind of religious homage to the Saintly

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images,

(b) So Michael and his son Theophilus style Lewis in their letter to him, refusing him the title of Emperor, to which, however, he had an undoubted right in consequence of the treaties which they now desired to renew.

(c) Fleury, Le Sueur, and other historians, place unanimously this council in the year 825. It may be proper to observe here, that the proceedings of this council evidently shewed that the decisions of the Roman Pontiff were by no means looked upon at this time either as obligatory, or infallible. For when the letter of Pope Adrian, in favour of images, was read in the council, it was almost unanimously rejected, as containing absurd and erroneous opinions. The decrees of the second council at Nice, relating

images, in which their example was followed by the Germans and other nations. (d)

NOTWITHSTANDING this apostasy, the Iconoclasts were not destitute of adherents among the Latins. The most eminent of these was Claudius, Bishop of *Turin*, by birth a Spaniard, and also a disciple of Felix, Bishop of *Urgel*. This zealous Prelate, as soon as he had obtained the episcopal dignity through the favour of Lewis the Meek, began to exercise the duties of his function in the year 823, by ordering all images and even the Cross, to be cast out of the churches, and committed to the flames. The year following he composed a treatise, in which he not only defended these vehement proceedings, and declared against the *use*, as well as the *worship* of images, but also broached several other opinions that were quite contrary to the notions of the multitude, and to the prejudices of the times. He denied, among other things, in opposition to the Greeks, that the Cross was to be honoured with any kind of worship; he treated relics with the utmost contempt, as absolutely destitute of the virtues that were attributed to them, and censured with much freedom and severity those

relating to image-worship, were also censured by the Gallican Bishops; and the authority of that council, though received by several Popes as an oecumenical one, absolutely rejected. And what is remarkable is, that the Pope did not, on this account, declare the Gallican Bishops heretics, nor exclude them from the communion of the Apostolic See. See Fleury, liv. xlvii.

(d) Mabillon, *Annal. Benediclin.* tom. ii. p. 488.—Id. *Præf. ad Sæc. iv. Aëtior. SS. Ord. Benedicli. Sæc. iv.* part I. p. 7, 8.—Le Cointe *Annal. Eccles. Francor.* tom. iv. ad. h. a. 824.

those pilgrimages to the holy land, and those voyages to the tombs of the Saints, which, in this century, were looked upon as extremely salutary, and particularly meritorious: This noble stand, in the defence of true religion, drew upon Claudius a multitude of adversaries; the sons of superstition rushed upon him from all quarters; Theodemea Dungallus, Tonas of Orleans, and Walafridus Strabo (e) united to overwhelm him with their voluminous answers. But the learned and venerable Prelate maintained his ground (f), and supported his cause with such dexterity and force that it remained triumphant, and gained new credit. And hence it happened that the city of *Turin*, and the adjacent country were, for a long time after the death of Claudius, much less infected with superstition, than the other parts of *Europe*.

To these disputes of ancient origin were added controversies entirely new, and particularly that famous one *concerning the manner in which the body and blood of Christ were present in the eucharist*. It had been hitherto the unanimous opinion of the Church, that the body and blood of Christ *were* administered to those who received the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and that they were consequently *present* at that holy institution;

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but

(e) In order to do justice to the adversaries of Claudius here mentioned, it is necessary to observe that they only maintain the innocence and usefulness of images, without pretending to represent them as objects of religious worship.

(f) Mabillon, *Annal. Benedictin.* tom. ii. p. 488.—*Præf. ad sæc. iv. Act. SS. Ord. Benedict.* p. viii.—*Histoire Litter. de la France*, tom. iv. p. 491. & tom. v. p. 27, 64.—Tag. Basnage, *Histoire des Eglises Reformées*, tom. i. period. iv. p. 38. ed. in 4to.

but the sentiments of christians concerning the *nature* and *manner* of this *presence* were various and contradictory, nor had any council determined with precision that important point, or prescribed the manner in which this pretended presence was to be understood. Both reason and folly were hitherto left free in this matter, nor had any imperious mode of faith suspended the exercise of the one, or restrained the extravagance of the other. But in this century Pascasius Radbert, a Monk, and afterwards Abbot of *Corbey*, pretended to explain with precision, and to determine with certainty, the doctrine of the Church on this head, for which purpose he composed, in the year 831, a treatise *concerning the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ*. (k) A second edition of this treatise, revised with care and considerably augmented, was presented in the year 845, to Charles the Bald, and gave principally occasion to the warm and important controversy that ensued. The doctrine of Pascasius amounted in general to the two following propositions: *First*, that after the consecration of the bread and wine in the Lord's supper, nothing remained of these symbols but the *outward figure*, under which the body and blood of Christ were really and locally *present*; and *secondly*, that the body of Christ thus present in the eucharist was the *same body that was born of the Virgin, that suffered*

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(k) See Mabillon, *Annales Benedict.* ii. p. 539. An accurate edition of Radbert's book is published by Martene, in the ix *volume* of his *Amplis. Collect. veter. scriptor.* p. 378. The life and actions of this wrong-headed Divine are treated of at large by Mabillon, in his *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Benedict. Sac. iv. part ii.* 126. and by the Jesuits, in the *Acta SS. Antwerp. ad d. xxvi. Aprilis.*

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upon the cross, and was raised from the dead. This new doctrine, and more especially the second proposition now mentioned, excited, as might well be expected, the astonishment of many. Accordingly it was opposed by Rabanus Maurus, Heribald, and others, though they did not all refute it in the same method, nor upon the same principles. Charles the Bald, upon this occasion, ordered the famous Ratramn and Johannes Scotus to draw up a clear and rational explication of that important doctrine which Radbert seemed to have so egregiously corrupted. (l) These learned divines executed with zeal and diligence the order of the Emperor. The treatise of Scotus perished in the ruins of time, but that of Ratramn is still extant, (m) and furnished ample matter of dispute both in the last and present century. (n) It is remarkable that in this controversy each of the contending parties were almost as much divided among themselves as they were at variance with their adversaries. Radbert, who began the dispute, contradicts himself in many places, departs from his own principles, and

(l) For an account of Ratramn or Bertramn, and his famous book, which has made so much noise in the world, see Fabricius *Biblioth. Lat. medii ævi*, tom. i. p. 1661.

(m) A new English translation of the book of Bertramn, Priest and Monk of Corbey, concerning the body and blood of Jesus Christ in the sacrament, was published in Dublin in the year 1753; to which is prefixed a very learned and judicious Historical Dissertation concerning this famous author and his works, in which both are ably defended against the calumnies and fictions of the Roman Catholic writers.

(n) There is an account, but a partial one, of this controversy in Mabillon's *Pres. ad. Sac. iv. part II. Benedict.* p. viii. which the curious reader will do well to compare with Basnage's *Histoire de l'Eglise*, tom. i. p. 909.

and maintains in one part of his book conclusions that he had disavowed in another. His principal adversary Bertramm or Ratramn, seems in some respects liable to the same charge; he appears to follow in general the doctrine of those, who deny that the body and blood of Christ are *really* present in the holy sacrament, and to affirm on the contrary that they are only represented by the bread and wine as their signs or symbols. There are, however, several passages in his book which seem inconsistent with this just and rational notion of the eucharist, or at least are susceptible of different interpretations, and have therefore given rise to various disputes. Johannes Scotus, whose philosophical genius rendered him more accurate, and shed through his writings that logical precision so much wanted, and so highly desirable in polemical productions, was the only disputant in this contest, who expressed his sentiments with perspicuity, method, and consistency, and declared plainly, that the bread and wine were the *signs* and *symbols* of the *absent* body and blood of Christ. All the other theologists of his time fluctuate and waver in their opinions, express themselves with ambiguity, and embrace and reject the same tenets at different times, as if they had no fixed or permanent principles concerning the matter in question. From all this, however, it evidently appears, that there was not as yet in the Latin Church any fixed or universally received opinion concerning the *manner* in which the body and blood of *Christ* are present in the eucharist. Of all the controversies that divided Christians in this century, the most interesting, though at the same time the most lamentable, was that which occasioned the fatal schism between the Greek and Latin Churches.

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Churches. A vindictive and jealous spirit of animosity and contention had, for a long time, prevailed between the bishops of *Rome* and *Constantinople*, and had sometimes broke out into acts of violence and rage. The ambition and fury of these contending Prelates grew still more keen and vehement about the time of Leo the Isaurian, when the Bishops of *Constantinople*, seconded by the power and authority of the Emperors, withdrew from the jurisdiction of the Roman Pontiffs many provinces, over which they had hitherto exercised a spiritual dominion. (u) But in this century they arose to an enormous height, and broke forth into a most dreadful flame, in the year 858, (w) when the learned Photius was chosen patriarch of *Constantinople*, by the Emperor Michael, in the place of Ignatius, whom that Prince drove from his See and sent into exile. For this violent proceeding, though it was justified and applauded by a council assembled at *Constantinople* in the year 861, was far from being attended with a general approbation. Ignatius appealed from this council to the Roman Pontiff Nicolas I. who espoused his interests, and in a council assembled at *Rome*, A. D. 862, excommunicated Photius as unlawfully elected; and his abettors for having been concerned in such an unrighteous cause. The new patriarch, however, was so far from being terrified or dejected by this excommunication, that he

(u) See Giannone, *Histoire de Naples*, tom. i. p. 535, 646.—Petr. de Marca, *De concordia sacerdotii et imperii*, lib. i. cap. i. p. 6.—Lequien, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. i. p. 96.

(w) In the original there stands 852, but as this is probably an error of the press, the translator has taken the liberty to correct it in the text.

he returned the compliment to the Roman Pontiff, and in a council assembled at *Constantinople*, in the year 866, he declared Nicolas unworthy both of the place he held in the Church, and also of being admitted to the communion of Christians.

THE Roman Pontiff alledged a specious pretext for his appearing in this matter with such violence, and exciting such unhappy commotions in the Church. This pretext was the innocence of Ignatius, whom, upon an accusation of treason, whether true or false, the Emperor had degraded from his patriarchal dignity. This, however, was but a mere pretext; ambition and interest were the true, though secret springs, that directed the motions of Nicholas, who would have borne with patience, nay, beheld with indifference the unjust sufferings of Ignatius, could he but have recovered from the Greeks the provinces of *Illyricum*, *Macedonia*, *Epirus*, *Achaia*, *Thessaly*, and *Sicily*, which the Emperor and Photius had removed from the jurisdiction of the Roman Pontiff. Before he engaged in the cause of Ignatius, he sent a solemn embassy to *Constantinople* to demand the restitution of these provinces; but his demand was rejected with contempt. And hence, under pretence of avenging the injuries committed against Ignatius, he indulged without restraint his own private resentment, and thus covered with the mask of justice the fury of disappointed ambition and avarice.

WHILE things were in this troubled state, and the flame of controversy was growing more violent from day to day, Basilus

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lius the Macedonian, who, by the murder of his predecessor, had paved his way to the imperial throne, calmed at once these tumults, and restored peace to the Church, by recalling Ignatius from exile to the high station from which he had been degraded, and by confining Photius in a monastery. This imperial act of authority was solemnly approved and confirmed by a council assembled at *Constantinople* in the year 860, in which the legates of the Roman Pontiff Adrian II. had great influence, and were treated with the highest marks of distinction. (x) The Latins acknowledge this assembly as the viiith *oecumenical* council, and in it the religious contests between them and the Greeks were concluded, or at least hushed and suspended. But the controversy concerning the authority of the Roman Pontiffs, the limits of their ghostly empire, and particularly their jurisdiction in *Bulgaria*, still subsisted, nor could all the efforts of papal ambition engage either Ignatius or the Emperors to give up *Bulgaria* or any other province to the See of *Rome*.

UPON the death of Ignatius, which happened in the year 878, the Emperor took Photius into favour, and placed him again at the head of the Greek Church in the patriarchal dignity from whence he had fallen. This restoration of the degraded patriarch was agreed to by the Roman Pontiff John VIII. upon condition, however, that Photius would permit the Bulgarians to come under the jurisdiction of the See of

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(x) The writers on both sides of this controversy, are enumerated by Fabricius, in his *Bibl. Græca*, vol. iv. c. xxxviii. p. 372.

Rome. The latter promised to satisfy in this the demands of the Pontiff, to which the Emperor also seemed to consent; (b) and hence it was that John VIII. sent legates to the council which was held at *Constantinople*, A. D. 879, by whom he declared his approbation of the acts of that assembly, and acknowledged Photius as his brother in Christ. The promises however of the Emperor and the Patriarch were far from being accomplished; for after this council the former, most probably by the advice, or at least with the consent of the latter, refused to transfer the province of Bulgaria to the Roman Pontiff; and it must be confessed that this refusal was founded upon most weighty and important reasons. The Pontiff, notwithstanding, was highly irritated at this disappointment, and sent Marinus to *Constantinople* in the character of legate, to declare that he had changed his mind concerning Photius, and that he entirely approved of the sentence of excommunication that had formerly been given against him. The legate upon delivering this disagreeable message, was cast into prison by the Emperor, but was afterwards set free; and being raised to the Pontificate upon the death of John VIII. recalled the remembrance of this injurious treatment, and levelled a new sentence of condemnation against Photius.

This sentence was treated with contempt by the haughty Patriarch; but about six years after this period, he experienced anew the fragility of sublunary grandeur and elevation by a fall which concluded his prosperous days. For in the

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(b) Mich. Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. i. p. 103.

year 886, Leo, surnamed the *Philosopher*, the son and successor of Basilus, deposed him from the Patriarchal See, and confined him in an Armenian monastery, where he died in the year 891. The death of Photius, who was the only author of the schisms that divided the Greeks and Latins, might have been an occasion of removing these unhappy contests, and of restoring peace and concord in the Church, if the Roman Pontiffs had not been regardless of the demands of equity, as well as of the duty of Christian moderation. But these imperious lords of the Church indulged their vindictive zeal beyond all measure, and would be satisfied with nothing less than the degradation of all the Priests and Bishops, who had been ordained by Photius. The Greeks on the other hand, were shocked at the arrogance of these unjust pretensions, and would not submit to them on any conditions. Hence a spirit of resentment and irritation renewed the spirit of dispute, which had been happily declining; religious, as well as civil contests were again set on foot; new controversies were added to the old, until the fatal schism took place, which produced a lasting and total separation between the Greek and Latin Churches.

CHAP. V.

Concerning the Rites and Ceremonies used in the Church during the Ninth Century.

THAT religious rites and ceremonies were multiplied from day to day appears evidently from the labours of those writers who began in this century to explain to the ignorant multitude their origin, their nature, and the purposes they served ; for the multiplicity alone of these religious rites could render the explication of them necessary. Johannes Scotus, Angelome, Remi, or Remigius, Bishop of *Auxerre*, and *Walafridus Strabo*, were the principal authors who distinguished themselves in this species of sacred literature, to whom we may add *Amalarius*, many of whose explanations were, however, refuted by *Agobard* and *Florus*. Their works are generally entitled *De Officiis Divinis*, for in the style of this age religious ceremonies were called by that name. The labour of these pious and learned men in illustrating the *ritual* were undoubtedly undertaken with good intentions ; but their utility may be well called into question ; and it would be bold to affirm that they were not as prejudicial to the Church in some respects as they might be advantageous to it in others. Their books afforded, indeed, a certain sort of spiritual nourishment to the minds of Christians in their attendance upon public worship, but this nourishment was both coarse and unwholesome. The reasons alledged for the ceremonies in

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vogue at this time in the Church, and the purposes they were supposed to answer, were, for the most part, not only far-fetched, childish, and ridiculous, but also bore the strongest marks of forgery and fiction. It is also further observable, that these illustrations not only encouraged, but augmented prodigiously, and that to the detriment of real piety, the veneration and zeal of the multitude for external rites and ceremonies. For who would dare to refuse their admiration and reverence to institutions, which they were taught to consider as full of the most mysterious wisdom, and founded upon the most pious and affecting reasons?

It would be endless to enter into an exact enumeration of the various rites and ceremonies, which were now introduced, for the first time, and of which some were adopted by the whole body of Christians, and others only by certain Churches. We shall therefore dismiss this matter with the general account which follows, and point out in the notes the sources from whence the curious reader may derive a more particular knowledge of the absurdities of this superstitious age. The carcases of the Saints transported from foreign countries, or discovered at home by the industry and diligence of pious or designing Priests, not only obliged the rulers of the Church to augment the number of festivals or holidays already established, but also to diversify the ceremonies in such a manner, that each Saint might have his peculiar worship. And as the authority and credit of the Clergy depended much upon the high notion which was generally entertained of the virtue and merit of the Saints they had canonized, and presented to the multitude as

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objects of religious veneration, it was necessary to amuse and surprize the people by a variety of pompous and striking ceremonies, by images and such like inventions, in order to keep up and nourish their stupid admiration for the Saintly tribe. Hence the splendour and magnificence, that were lavished upon the Churches in this century, and the prodigious number of costly pictures and images, with which they were adorned; hence the stately alters, which were enriched with the noblest inventions of painting and sculpture, and illuminated with innumerable tapers at noon day; hence the multitude of processions, the gorgeous and splendid garments of the Priests, and the *masses* that were celebrated in honour of the Saints. (c) Among other novelties, the feast of *All Saints* was added, in this century, by Gregory IV. to the Latin Calendar (d); and the festival of St. Michael, which had been long kept with the greatest marks of devotion and respect by the Orientals and Italians, began now to be observed more zealously and universally among the Latin Christians. (e)

NOR was it only in the solemn acts of religious worship that superstition reigned with an unlimited sway; its influence extended even to the affairs of private life, and was observable in

(c) See Jo. Fechtii *Liber Singularis de Missis in honorem sanctorum*.

(d) See Mabillon, *De re Diplomatica*, p. 537.

(e) The holidays, or festivals, of the Saints were as yet but few in number among the Latins, as appears from a poem of Florus published by Martene in the 7th vol. of his *Thesaurus Anecdotor.* p. 505.

in the civil transactions of men, particularly among the Latin Christians, who retained with more obstinacy than the Greeks, a multitude of customs, which derived their origin from the sacred rites of paganism. The barbarous nations, which were converted to christianity, could not support the thoughts of abandoning altogether the laws and manners of their ancestors, however inconsistent they might be with the indispensable demands of the gospel; nay, they persuaded, on the contrary, the Christians among whom they lived, to imitate their extravagant superstition in this respect. And this was the true and original source of those barbarous institutions that prevailed among the Latins during this and the following century, such as the various methods by which it was usual for persons accused to prove their innocence in doubtful cases, either by the trial of cold water, (f) by

(f) All these were presumptuous attempts to force the divine providence to declare itself miraculously in favour of the truth. In the trial of *cold water*, the person accused had the right foot and the left hand bound together, and was, in this posture, thrown naked into the water. If he sunk, he was acquitted; but if he floated upon the surface, this was considered as an evidence of guilt. The most respectable authors, ancient and modern, attribute the invention of this superstitious trial to Pope Eugenius II. and it is somewhat surprizing that Mr. Bower has taken no notice of it in his history of that Pontiff. Baluzius has inserted, in the 2d vol. of his *Capitularia*, the solemn forms of prayer and protestation, that Eugenius had caused to be drawn as an introduction to this superstitious practice, and Fleury and Spanheim look upon that Pontiff as its first inventor. On the other hand, father Le Brun, a Priest of the oratory, maintains (in his *Histoire Critique des Pratiques superstitieuses*, tom. ii. p. 140, &c. edit. d' Amsterdam) that this custom was much more ancient than Eugenius, and his reasons

by single combat, (g) by the fire ordeal (h), and by the cross. (i) It is no longer a question in our days, from whence

(g) Jo. Loccenii *Antiquit. Sueo-Gothica*, lib. ii. cap. vii. viii. p. 144. This barbarous method of deciding controversies by *duel* was practised even by the Clergy. See Just. Hen. Böemeri *Jus. Eccles. Protestantium*, tom. v. p. 88.

(h) Petr. Lambecius, *Rerum Hamburg.* lib. ii. p. 39.—Usserii *Sylloge Epistol.* Hibernic. p. 81.—Johnson, *Leges Eccles. Britannicæ*.—Michel de la Roche, *Memoires Litter. de la Grande Bretagne*, tom. viii. p. 391.

(i) See Agobardus, *Contra Judicium Dei*, tom. i. opp. et *Contra legem Gundobadi*, cap. ix. p. 114.—Hier. Bignonius, *Ad formulas Marculphi*, cap. xii.—Baluzius, *Ad Agobardum*, p. 104.

reasons are not unworthy of attention. Be that as it may, this custom was condemned and abrogated at the request, or rather, by the authority of Lewis the Meek about the year 829. It was however revived afterwards, and was practised in the x. xi. and xiiith centuries, as we shall see in the progress of this history. For an account of the trial of *cold water*, Dr. Mosheim refers us, in a note to Mabillon's *Analecæ veteris ævi*, tom. i. p. 47. & Roye's *De missis dominicis*, p. 152.

The trial by *duel*, or single combat, was introduced towards the conclusion of the viith century by Gondebaud, King of the Burgundians, after that the abuse of oaths had occasioned the most horrible perjuries, and opened a door to all sorts of injustice. The *duel* was then added to the oath by Gondebaud; the successful combatant was supposed to be in the right, and this barbarous test of truth and justice was, in spite of humanity and common sense, adopted by the Lombards, French, and Germans, and derived from them to other nations. It was prohibited first in the year 855, in the third council of *Valence in Dauphiny*.

The *fire ordeal* was practised in various ways. The accused either held a burning ball of iron in his hand, or was obliged to walk bare-foot upon heated plow-shares, whose number was increased in proportion to the number or enormity of the crimes imputed

whence these methods of deciding dubious cases and accusations derived their origin; all agree that they were mere delusions, drawn from the barbarous rites of paganism, (k) and

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(k) Strabo tells us in the vth book of his *Geography*, that while the sacred rites of the goddess *Feronia* were celebrated in a Grove not far from Mount *Soracte*, several persons, transported with the imaginary presence of this pretended divinity, fell into fits of enthusiasm, and walked bare-footed over heaps of burning coals without receiving the least damage. The historian adds, that a spectacle so extraordinary drew a prodigious concourse of people to this annual solemnity. Pliny relates something of the same nature concerning the *Hirpii*, see his *Nat. Hist.* book vii. ch. ii.

imputed to him; and sometimes a glove of red-hot iron was used on this occasion, as we see in the xth book of the history of *Denmark*, by Saxon the *Grammarian*. If in these trials the person impeached remained unhurt, and discovered no signs of pain, he was discharged as innocent; otherwise he was punished as guilty. The first account we have of Christians appealing to this kind of trial as a proof of their innocence, is that of Simplicius, Bishop of *Autun*, who lived in the ivth century. This Prelate, as the story goes, before his promotion to the Episcopal Order, had married a wife who loved him tenderly, and who, unwilling to quit him after his advancement, continued to sleep in the same chamber with her spouse. The sanctity of Simplicius suffered, at least in the voice of fame, by the constancy of his wife's affection, and it was rumoured about, that the holy man, though a Bishop, persisted in opposition to the ecclesiastical canons to taste the sweets of matrimony. Upon which the Dame, in presence of a great concourse of people, took up a considerable quantity of burning coals, which she held in her cloaths, and applied to her breast, without the least hurt to her person or damage to her garments, as the Legend says, and her example being followed by her husband with like success, the silly multitude admired the miracle, and proclaimed the innocence of the loving pair. Bricius or St. Brice (whom Mr. Collier, in his *Ecclesiastical History of England*, vol. i. p. 231, represents by mistake as the first Christian

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not only opposite to the precepts of the gospel, but absolutely destructive of the spirit of true religion. The Pontiffs, however, and the inferior Clergy encouraged these odious superstitions, and went so far as to accompany the practice of them with the celebration of the Lord's Supper and other rites, in order to give them a Christian aspect, and to recommend them to the veneration and confidence of the multitude.

who endeavoured to clear himself in this way) played a trick of much the same nature in the fifth century. The trial by the *cross* was made by obliging the contending parties to stretch out their arms, and he that continued the longest in this posture gained his cause.

THE
TENTH CENTURY.

CHAP. I.

*Concerning the Prosperous Events that happened to the
Church during this Century.*

THE deplorable state of Christianity in this century, arising partly from that astonishing ignorance that gave a loose rein both to superstition and immorality, and partly from an unhappy concurrence of causes of another kind, is unanimously lamented by the various writers, who have transmitted to us the history of these miserable times. Yet amidst all this darkness some gleams of light were perceived from time to time, and several occurrences happened, which deserve a place in the prosperous annals of the Church. The Nestorians in *Chaldea* extended their spiritual conquests beyond

mount *Imaus*, and introduced the Christian religion into *Tartary*, properly so called, whose inhabitants had hitherto lived in their natural state of ignorance and ferocity, uncivilized and savage. The same successful missionaries spread, by degrees, the knowledge of the Gospel among that most powerful nation of the Turks, or Tartars, which went by the name of *Karit*, and bordered on *Kathay*, or on the Northern part of *China* (l). The laborious industry of this sect, and their zeal for the propagation of the Christian faith, deserve, no doubt, the highest encomiums; it must, however, be acknowledged, that the doctrine and worship, which they introduced among these Barbarians, were far from being, in all respects, conformable to the precepts of the Gospel, or to the true spirit and genius of the Christian religion.

If we turn our eyes to the Western world, we shall find the Gospel making its way with more or less rapidity through the most rude and uncivilized nations. The famous arch-pirate Rollo, son of a Norwegian Count, being banished from his native land (m), had, in the preceding century, put himself at the head of a resolute band of Normans, and seized upon one of the Maritime Provinces of *France*, from whence he infested the whole country round about with perpetual incursions and depredations. In the year 912, this valiant chief embraced,

(l) Jos. Sim. Assemani *Bibliotheca Oriental. Vatic.* tom. iii. part II. p. 482.—Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Oriental.* p. 256.

(m) Holbergi *Historia Danorum Navalis in Scriptis Societatis Scient. Hafniens.* part III. p. 357.

embraced, with his whole army, the Christian faith, and that upon the following occasion: Charles the Simple, who wanted both resolution and power to drive this warlike and intrepid invaders out of his dominions, was obliged to have recourse to the method of negotiation. He accordingly offered to make over to Rollo a considerable part of his territories, upon condition that the latter would consent to a peace, espouse his daughter Gifela (n), and embrace Christianity. These terms were accepted by Rollo without the least hesitation; and his army, following the example of their leader, professed a religion of which they were totally ignorant (o).

THESE Norman Pirates, as appears from many authentic records, were absolutely without religion of every kind, and therefore were not restrained, by the power of prejudice, from embracing a religion which presented to them the most advantageous prospects. They knew no distinction between interest and duty, and they estimated truth and virtue only by the profits with which they were attended. It was from this Rollo, who received at his baptism the name of Robert, that the famous line of Norman Dukes derived its origin; for the Province of *Bretagne*, and a part of *Neustria*, which Charles the Simple conveyed to his son-in-law by a solemn grant, were,

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(n) Other writers more politely represent the offer of Gifela as one of the methods that Charles employed to obtain a peace with Rollo.

(o) Boulay *Hist. Acad. Paris*, tom. i. p. 296.—Daniel, *Hist. de France*, tom. ii. p. 587.

from this time, known by the name of *Normandy* (p), which they derived from their new possessors.

CHAP. II.

Concerning the Doctors and Ministers of the Church, and its form of Government, during the Tenth Century.

TO those who consider the primitive dignity and the solemn nature of the ministerial character, the corruptions of the Clergy must appear deplorable beyond all expression. These corruptions were mounted to the most enormous height in that dismal period of the Church, which we have now before us. Both in the Eastern and Western Provinces, the Clergy were, for the most part, composed of a most worthless set of men, shamefully illiterate and stupid, ignorant more especially in religious matters, equally enslaved to sensuality and superstition, and capable of the most abominable and flagitious deeds. This dismal degeneracy of the sacred order was, according to the most credible accounts, principally owing to the pretended chiefs and rulers of the Universal Church, who indulged

(p) It was *Neufria* properly, and not *Bretagne*, that received the name of *Normandy*, from the Normans who chose Rollo for their chief.

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dulged themselves in the commission of the most odious crimes, and abandoned themselves to the lawless impulse of the most licentious passions without reluctance or remorse, who confounded, in short, all difference between just and unjust, to satisfy their impious ambition, and whose spiritual empire was such a diversified scene of iniquity and violence, as never was exhibited under any of those temporal tyrants, who have been the scourges of mankind. We may form some notion of the Grecian Patriarchs from the single example of Theophylact, who, according to the testimonies of the most respectable writers, made the most impious traffic of ecclesiastical promotions, and expressed no sort of care about any thing but his dogs and horses (q). Degenerate, however, and licentious as these Patriarchs might be, they were, generally speaking, less profligate and indecent than the Roman Pontiffs.

THE history of the Roman Pontiffs, that lived in this century, is a history of so many monsters, and not of men, and exhibits a horrible series of the most flagitious, tremendous, and

(q) This *exemplary* Prelate, who sold every ecclesiastical benefice as soon as it became vacant, had in his stables above 2000 hunting horses, which he fed with pignuts, pistachios, dates, dried grapes, figs steeped in the most exquisite wines, to all which he added the richest perfumes. One Holy Thursday, as he was celebrating High-Mass, his groom brought him the joyful news that one of his favourite mares had foaled; upon which he threw down the Liturgy, left the Church, and ran in raptures to the stable, where having expressed his joy at that *grand* event, he returned to the altar to finish the divine service which he had left interrupted during his absence. See Fleury, *Hist. Ecclesiast.* livre lv. 97, edit. *Bruxelle*.

and complicated crimes, as all writers, even those of the Romish communion, unanimously confess. The source of these disorders must be sought for principally in the calamities that fell upon the greatest part of *Europe*, and that afflicted *Italy* in a particular manner, after the extinction of the race of Charlemagne. Upon the death of the Pontiff Benedict IV. which happened in the year 903, Leo V. was raised to the Pontificate, which he enjoyed no longer than forty days, being dethroned by Christopher, and cast into prison. Christopher, in his turn, was deprived of the Pontifical dignity the year following by Sergius III. a Roman Presbyter, seconded by the protection and influence of Adalbert, a most powerful Tuscan Prince, who had a supreme and unlimited direction in all the affairs that were transacted at *Rome*. Anastasius III. and Lando, who, upon the death of Sergius, in the year 911, were raised successively to the Papal dignity, enjoyed it but for a short time, and did nothing that could contribute to render their names illustrious.

AFTER the death of Lando, which happened in the year 914, Alberic (r), Marquis or Count of *Tuscany*, whose opulence

(r) It was Albert or Adelbert, and not Alberic, who was the son-in-law of the elder Theodora, of whom Dr. Mosheim here speaks. Alberic was grandson to this Theodora, by her daughter Marozia, who was married to Albert. See Spanheim, *Eccles. Hist. Secul.* x. p. 1432. — Fleury, *Hist. Eccles.* livre liv. p. 571. edit. *Bruxelle*. This latter historian is of opinion, that it was the younger Theodora, the sister of Marozia, who, from an amorous principle, raised John X. to the Pontificate.

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lence was prodigious, and whose authority in *Rome* was despotic and unlimited, obtained the Pontificate for John X. Archbishop of *Ravenna*, in compliance with the sollicitation of Theodora, his mother-in-law, whose lewdness was the principle that interested her in this promotion. (s) This infamous election will not surprize such as know that the laws of *Rome* were at this time absolutely silent; that the dictates of justice and equity were overpowered and suspended; and that all things were carried on in that great city by interest or corruption, by violence or fraud. John X. though in other respects a scandalous example of iniquity and lewdness in the papal chair, acquired a certain degree of reputation by his glorious campaign against the Saracens, whom he drove from the settlements they had made upon the banks of the *Garigliano*. (t) He did not, however, enjoy his glory long; the enmity of Marozia, daughter of Theodora, and wife of Alberic, proved fatal to him. For this bloody-minded woman having espoused Wido, or Guy, Marquis of *Tuscany*, after the death of her first consort, engaged him to seize the wanton Pontiff, who was her mother's lover, and to put him to death in the prison where he lay confined. This licentious and unlucky Pontiff was succeeded by Leo VI. who sat but seven months in the apostolic chair, which was filled after him by Stephen VII.

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(s) Theodora, mistress of *Rome*, had John X. raised to the pontifical chair, that she might continue that licentious commerce in which she had lived with that carnal ecclesiastic for many years past. See Fleury, and other writers, &c.

(t) In the original we have *Montem Garilianum*, which is, undoubtedly, a mistake, as the *Garigliano* is a river in the kingdom of *Naples*, and not a mountain.

The death of this latter, which happened in the year 931, presented to the ambition of Marozia, an object worthy of its grasp; and accordingly she raised to the papal dignity John XI. who was the fruit of her lawless amours with one of the pretended successors of St. Peter, Sergius III. whose adulterous commerce with that infamous woman gave an *infallible* guide to the Roman Church. (u)

JOHN XI. who was placed at the head of the Church by the credit and influence of his mother, was pulled down from this summit of spiritual grandeur, A. D. 933, by Alberic his half-brother, who had conceived the utmost aversion against him. His mother Marozia had, after the death of Wido, entered anew into the bonds of matrimony with Hugo, King of *Italy*, who, having offended his step-son Alberic, felt severely the weight of his resentment, which vented its fury upon the whole family; for Alberic drove out of *Rome* not only Hugo, but also Marozia and her son the Pontiff, and confined them in prison, where the latter ended his days in the year 936. The four Pontiffs, who, in their turns succeeded

(u) The character and conduct of Marozia are acknowledged to have been most infamous by the unanimous testimony both of ancient and modern historians, who affirm, with one voice, that John XI. was the fruit of her carnal commerce with Sergius III. Eccard, alone, in his *Originès Guelphicæ*, tom. i. lib. ii. p. 131. has ventured to clear her from this reproach, and to assert that Sergius, before his elevation to the pontificate, was her lawful and first husband. The attempt, however, is highly extravagant, if not impudent, to pretend to acquit, without the least testimony or proof of her innocence, a woman who is known to have been entirely destitute of every principle of virtue.

ed John XI. and filled the papal chair until the year 956, were Leo VII. Stephen VIII. Marianus II. and Agapet, whose characters were much better than that of their predecessor, and whose government, at least, was not attended with those tumults and revolutions, that had so often shook the pontifical throne, and banished from *Rome* the inestimable blessings of peace and concord. Upon the death of Agapet, which happened in the year 956, Alberic II. who to the dignity of Roman consul joined a degree of authority and opulence which nothing could resist, raised to the pontificate his son Octavian, who was yet in the early bloom of youth, and destitute besides of every quality that was requisite in order to discharge the duties of that high and important office. This unworthy Pontiff assumed the name of John XII. and thus introduced the custom, that has since been adopted by all his successors in the See of *Rome*, of changing each their usual name for another upon their accession to the Pontificate.

THE fate of John XII. was as unhappy as his promotion had been scandalous. Unable to bear the oppressive yoke of Berenger II. King of *Italy*, he sent ambassadors, in the year 960, to Otho the Great, entreating him to march into *Italy*, at the head of a powerful army, to deliver the Church and the People from the tyranny under which they groaned. To these entreaties the perplexed Pontiff added a solemn promise, that, if the German Monarch came to his assistance, he would array him with the purple and the other ensigns of sovereignty, and proclaim him Emperor of the Romans. Otho received this embassy with pleasure, marched into *Italy* at the

head of a large body of troops, and was accordingly saluted by John with the title of Emperor of the Romans. The Pontiff, however, soon perceiving that he had acted with too much precipitation, repented of the step he had taken, and, though he had sworn allegiance to the Emperor as his lawful Sovereign, and that in the most solemn manner, yet he broke his oath, and joined with Adelbert, the son of Berenger, against Otho. This revolt was not left unpunished. The Emperor returned to *Rome* in the year 964, called a council, before which he accused and convicted the Pontiff of many crimes; and after having degraded him in the most ignominious manner, from his high office, he appointed Leo VIII. to fill his place. Upon Otho's departure from *Rome*, John returned to that city, and in a council, which he assembled in the year 964, condemned the Pontiff whom the Emperor had elected, and soon after died in a miserable and violent manner. After his death the Romans chose Benedict V. Bishop of *Rome*, in opposition to Leo; but the Emperor annulled this election, restored Leo to the papal chair, and carried Benedict to *Hamburg*, where he died in exile. (w)

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(w) In the account I have here given of the Pontiffs of this century, I have consulted the sources, which are to be found, for the most part, in Muratori's *Scriptores Rerum Italicar.* as also Baronius, Peter De Marca, Sigonius *De Regno Italiae*, with the learned annotations of Ant Saxius, Muratori, in his *Annales Italiae*, Pagi, and other writers, all of whom have had access to the sources, and to the several ancient manuscripts, which have not as yet been published. The narrations I have here given, are most certainly true upon the whole. It must, however, be confessed, that many parts of the papal history lie yet in great obscurity, and stand much in

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THE Pontiffs who governed the See of *Rome* from Leo VIII. who died A. D. 965, to Gerbert or Silvester II. who was raised to the Pontificate towards the conclusion of this century, were more happy in their administration, as well as more decent in their conduct, than their infamous predecessors; yet none of them so exemplary as to deserve the applause that is due to eminent virtue. John XIII. who was raised to the Pontificate in the year 965, by the authority of Otho the Great, was driven out of *Rome* in the beginning of his administration; but the year following, upon the Emperor's return to *Italy*, he was restored to his high dignity, in the calm possession of which he ended his days, A. D. 972. His successor Benedict VI. was not so happy; cast into prison by Crescentius, son of the famous Theodora, in consequence of the hatred which the Romans had conceived both against his person and Government, he was loaded with all sorts of ignominy, and was strangled in the year 974, in the apartment where he lay confined. Unfortunately for him, Otho the Great, whose power and severity kept the Romans in awe, died in the year 973, and with him expired that order and discipline which he had restored in *Rome* by salutary laws executed with impartiality and vigour. The face of things was entirely changed by that event; licentiousness and disorder, seditions and assassinations, resumed their former sway, and diffused their horrors through that miserable city. After the death of Benedict,

in need of farther illustration; nor will I deny that a spirit of partiality has been extremely detrimental to the history of the Pontiffs, by corrupting it, and rendering it uncertain in a multitude of places.

dict, the Papal chair was filled by Franco, who assumed the name of Boniface VII. but enjoyed his dignity only for a short time; for scarcely a month had passed after his promotion when he was deposed from his office, expelled the city, and succeeded by Donus II. (x), who is known by no other circumstance than his name. Upon his death, which happened in the year 975, Benedict VII. was created Pontiff; and, during the space of nine years, ruled the Church without much opposition, and ended his days in peace. This peculiar happiness was, without doubt, principally owing to the opulence and credit of the family to which he belonged; for he was nearly related to the famous Alberic, whose power, or rather despotism, had been unlimited in *Rome*.

HIS successor John XIV. who, from the Bishopric of *Pavia* was raised to the Pontificate, derived no support from his birth, which was obscure, nor did he continue to enjoy the protection of Otho III. to whom he owed his promotion. Hence the calamities that fell upon him with such fury, and the misery that concluded his transitory grandeur; for Boniface VII. who had usurped the Papal throne in the year 974, and in a little time after had been banished *Rome*, returned from *Constantinople*, whither he had fled for refuge, and seizing the unhappy Pontiff, had him thrown into prison, and afterwards put to death. Thus Boniface resumed the Government of the Church; but his reign was also transitory, for he died about
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(x) Some writers place Donus II. before Benedict VI. See the *Tabula Synoptica Hist. Eccles.* of the learned Pfaff.

fix months after his restoration (y). He was succeeded by John XV. whom some writers call John XVI. because, as they allege, there was another John, who ruled the Church during the space of four months, and whom they consequently call John XV. (z). Leaving it to the reader's choice to call that John of whom we speak, the XV. or XVI. of that name, we shall only observe that he possessed the Papal dignity from the year 985 to 996, that his administration was as happy as the troubled state of the Roman affairs would permit, and that the tranquillity he enjoyed was not so much owing to his wisdom and prudence, as to his noble and illustrious ancestors, and being a Roman by birth. Certain it is, at least, that his successor Gregory V. who was a German, and who was elected Pontiff by the order of Otho III. A. D. 996, met with a quite different treatment; for Crescens, the Roman consul, drove him out of the city, and conferred his dignity upon John XVI. formerly known by the name of Philagathus. This revolution was not, however, permanent in its effects, for Otho III. alarmed by these disturbances at *Rome*, marched into *Italy*, A. D. 998, at the head of a powerful army, and casting into prison the new Pontiff, whom the soldiers, in the first moment of their fury, had maimed and abused in a most barbarous manner,

(y) Fleury says eleven months.

(z) Among these writers is the learned Pfaff, in his *Tabula Synoptica*, &c. But the Roman Catholic writers, whom Dr. Mosheim follows with good reason, do not count among the number of the Pontiffs that John who governed the Church of *Rome* during the space of four months, after the death of Boniface VII. because he was never duly invested, by consecration, with the Papal dignity.

ner, he re-instated Gregory in his former honours, and placed him anew at the head of the Church. It was upon the death of this latter Pontiff, which happened soon after his restoration, that the same Emperor raised to the Papal dignity his preceptor and friend the famous and learned Gerbert, or Sylvester II. whose promotion was attended with the universal approbation of the Roman people (a).

AMIDST these frequent commotions, and even amidst the repeated enormities and flagitious crimes of those who gave themselves out for Christ's vice-gerents upon earth, the power and authority of the Roman Pontiffs increased imperceptibly from day to day; such were the effects of that ignorance and superstition that reigned without controul in these miserable times. Otho the Great had indeed published a solemn edict, prohibiting the election of any Pontiff without the previous knowledge and consent of the Emperor; which edict, as all writers unanimously agree, remained in force from the time of its publication to the conclusion of this century. It is also to be observed, that the same Emperor, as likewise his son and grandson, who succeeded him in the empire, maintained, without interruption, their right of supremacy over the city of Rome, its territory, and its Pontiff, as may be demonstrably

(a) The history of the Roman Pontiffs of this period is not only extremely barren of interesting events, but also obscure, and uncertain in many respects. In the accounts I have here given of them, I have followed principally Lud. Ant. Muratori's *Annales Italiae*, and the *Conatus Chronologico Historicus de Romanis Pontificibus*, which the learned Papebrochius has prefixed to his *Acta Sanctorum Mensis Maii*.

(b) *Histoire*
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bly proved from a multitude of examples. It is, moreover, equally certain, that the German, French and Italian Bishops, who were not ignorant of the nature of their privileges, and the extent of their jurisdiction, were, during this whole century, perpetually upon their guard against every attempt, the Roman Pontiff might make, to assume to himself *alone* a legislative authority in the Church. But notwithstanding all this, the Bishops of *Rome* found means of augmenting their influence, and partly by open violence, partly by secret and fraudulent stratagems, encroached not only upon the privileges of the Bishops, but also upon the jurisdiction and rights of Kings and Emperors. (b) Their ambitious attempts were seconded and justified by the scandalous adulation of certain mercenary Prelates, who exalted the dignity and prerogatives of, what they called, the Apostolic See in the most pompous and extravagant terms. Several learned writers have observed, that in this century certain Bishops maintained publicly that the Roman Pontiffs were not only Bishops of *Rome*, but of the whole world, an assertion which hitherto none had ventured to make. (c)

THE adventurous ambition of the Bishops of *Rome*, who left no means unemployed to extend their jurisdiction, exhibited an example which the inferior Prelates followed with the most zealous and indefatigable emulation. Several Bishops and Abbots had begun, even from the time that the descen-

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(b) Several examples of these usurpations may be found in the *Histoire du Droit Eccles. Francois*, tom. i. p. 217, edit. in 8vo.

(c) *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. vi. p. 93, 186.

dants of Charlemagne sat on the imperial throne, to enlarge their prerogatives, and had actually obtained, for their tenants and their possessions, an immunity from the jurisdiction of the Counts and other magistrates, as also from taxes and imposts of all kinds. But in this century they carried their pretensions still farther; aimed at the civil jurisdiction over the cities and territories in which they exercised a spiritual dominion, and aspired after nothing less than the honours and authority of Dukes, Marquises, and Counts of the Empire. Among the principal circumstances that animated their zeal in the pursuit of these dignities, we may reckon the perpetual and bitter contests concerning jurisdiction and other matters, that reigned between the Dukes and Counts, who were Governors of cities, and the Bishops and Abbots, who were their ghostly rulers. The latter therefore, seizing the favourable opportunity that was offered them by the superstition of the times, used every method that might be effectual to obtain that high rank, that hitherto stood in the way of their ambition. And the Emperors and Kings to whom they addressed their presumptuous requests generally granted them, either from a desire of pacifying the contentions and quarrels that arose between civil and military magistrates, or from a devout reverence for the sacred order, or with a view to augment their own authority, and to confirm their dominion by the good services of the Bishops, whose influence was very great upon the minds of the people. Such were the different motives that engaged Princes to enlarge the authority and jurisdiction of the Clergy; and hence we see from this century downwards so many Bishops and Abbots invested with characters, employments, and titles so foreign to their spiritual offices

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offices and functions, and cloathed with the honours of Dukes, Marquises, Counts and Viscounts. (d)

BESIDES the reproach of the grossest ignorance which the Latin Clergy in this century so justly deserve, (e) they were also chargeable, in a very heinous degree, with two other odious and enormous vices, even *concubinage* and *simony*, which the greatest part of the writers of these unhappy times acknowledge and deplore. As to the first of these vices it was practised too openly to admit of any doubt. The Priests, and what is still more surprizing, even the sanctimonious Monk, fell victims to the triumphant charms of the sex, and to the imperious dominion of their carnal lusts, squandering away in a most luxurious manner, the revenues of the Church. (f)

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(d) The learned Louis Thomassin, in his book *De Discipline Ecclesiæ veteri et nova*, tom. iii. lib. i. cap. xxviii. p. 89, has collected a multitude of examples to prove that the titles and prerogatives of Dukes and Counts were conferred upon certain Prelates so early as the ixth century; nay, some Bishops trace even to the viiith century the rise and first beginning of that princely dominion which they now enjoy. But notwithstanding all this, if I be not entirely and grossly mistaken, there cannot be produced any evident and indisputable example of their princely dominion, previous to the xth century.

(e) RATHERIUS, speaking of the Clergy of *Verona*, in his *Itinerarium*, which is published in the *Spicilegium* of Dacherius, tom. i. p. 381. says, that he found many among them who could not even repeat the Apostles Creed. His words are: *Sciscitatus de fide illorum, inveni plurimos neque ipsum sapere Symbolum, qui fuisse creditur Apostolorum.*

(f) That this custom was introduced towards the commencement of this century is manifest, from the testimony of Ordericus Vitalis and other writers, and also from a letter of Martino, Bishop of *Chalons in Champagne*, which is published by Mabillon, in his *Analekta veterum*, p. 429, edit. nov.

The other vice above mentioned reigned with an equal degree of impudence and licentiousness. The election of Bishops and Abbots was no longer made according to the laws of the Church; but Kings and Princes, or their ministers and favourites either conferred these Ecclesiastical dignities upon their friends and creatures, or sold them without shame to the highest bidder. (g) Hence it happened, that the most stupid and flagitious wretches were frequently advanced to the most important stations in the Church, and that, upon several occasions, even soldiers, civil magistrates, counts, and such like persons, were, by a strange metamorphosis, converted into Bishops and Abbots. Gregory VII. endeavoured, in the following century, to put a stop to these two growing evils.

WHILE the Monastic Orders, among the Greeks and Orientals, maintained still an external appearance of religion and decency, the Latin Monks, towards the commencement of this century, had so entirely lost sight of all subordination and discipline, that the greatest part of them knew not even by name the rule of St. Benedict, which they were obliged to observe. A noble Frank, whose name was Odo, a man as learned and pious as the ignorance and superstition of the times would permit, endeavoured to remedy this disorder; nor were his attempts totally unsuccessful. This zealous Ecclesiastic being created, in the year 927, Abbot of Clugni, in

(g) Many infamous and striking examples and proofs of Simoniacal practice may be found in the work entitled *Gallia Christiana*, tom. i. p. 25, 37, tom. ii. p. 173, 179. Add to this Abbonis, *Apologeticum*, which is published at the end of the *Codex Canon. Pithoei*, p. 358, as also Mabillon, *Annal. Benedict.* tom. v.

in the province of *Burgundy*, upon the death of *Berno*, not only obliged the Monks to live in a rigorous observance of their rules, but also added to their discipline a new set of rites and ceremonies, which, notwithstanding the air of sanctity that attended them, were, in reality, insignificant and trifling, and yet at the same time severe and burthenfome (h). This new rule of discipline covered its author with glory, and, in a short time, was adopted in all the European convents; for the greatest part of the ancient Monasteries, which had been founded in *France*, *Germany*, *Italy*, *Britain*, and *Spain*, received the rule of the Monks of *Clugni*, to which also the convents, newly established, were subjected by their founders. And thus it was, that the *Order of Clugni* arrived to that high degree of eminence and authority, opulence and dignity, which it exhibited to the Christian world in the following century (i).

(h) See Mabillon, *Annal. Benedic.* tom. iii. p. 386, & *Præf. ad Acta Sanct. Ord. Benedic. Sæc. v.* p. xxvi. See also the *Acta Sanct. Bened. Sæc. v.* p. 66, in which he speaks largely concerning *Berno*, the first Abbot of *Clugni*, who laid the foundations of that Order, and of *Odo*, (p. 122.) who gave it a new degree of perfection. The learned *Helyot*, in his *Histoire des Ordres Religieuses*, tom. v. p. 124, has given a complete and elegant history of the Order of *Clugni*, and the present state of that famous Monastery is described by *Martene*, in his *Voyage Littér. de deux Benedic.* part I. p. 227.

(i) If we are not mistaken, the greatest part of ecclesiastical historians have not perceived the true meaning and force of the word *Order* in its application to the *Cistercian* Monks, those of *Clugni*, and other convents. They imagine that this term signifies a new Monastic institution, as if the *Order of Clugni* was a new sect of Monks never before heard of. But this is a great error, into which they fall by confounding the ancient meaning of that term with the sense in which it is used in modern times.

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CHAP. III.

Concerning the Doctrine of the Church in the Tenth Century.

THE state of religion in this century was such as might be expected in times of prevailing ignorance and corruption. The most important doctrines of Christianity were disfigured and perverted, in the most wretched manner, and such as had preserved, in unskilful hands, their primitive purity, were nevertheless obscured with a multitude of vain opinions and idle fancies, so that their intrinsic excellence and lustre were little attended to; all this will appear evident to those who look with the smallest degree of attention into the writers of this age. Both Greeks and Latins placed the essence and life of religion in the worship of images, and departed Saints, in searching after with zeal, and preserving with a devout
care

The word *Order*, when employed by the writers of the xth century signified no more at first than a certain form or rule of Monastic discipline; but from this primitive signification, another, and a secondary one was gradually derived. So that by the word *Order* is also understood an association or confederacy of several Monasteries, subjected to the same rule of discipline under the jurisdiction and inspection of one common chief. Hence we conclude, that the *Order of Clugni* was not a new sect of Monks, such as were the *Carthusian*, *Dominican*, and *Franciscan Orders*; but signified only, *first*, that new institution, or rule of discipline, which Odo had prescribed to the Benedictine Monks, who were settled at *Clugni*, and, *afterwards*, that prodigious multitude of Monasteries throughout *Europe*, which received the rule established at *Clugni*, and were formed by association into a sort of community, of which the Abbot of *Clugni* was the chief.

care and veneration, the sacred relics of holy men and women, and in accumulating riches upon the Priests and Monks, whose opulence increased with the progress of superstition. Scarcely did any Christian dare to approach the throne of God, without rendering first the Saints and Images propitious by a solemn round of expiatory rites and lustrations. The ardour also with which relics were sought, surpasses almost all credibility; it had seized all ranks and orders among the people, and was grown into a sort of fanaticism and frenzy; and, if the Monks are to be believed, the Supreme Being interposed in an especial and extraordinary manner, to discover to doating old-wives and bare-headed friars the place where the bones of or carcases of the Saints lay dispersed or interred. The fears of Purgatory, of that fire that was to destroy the remaining impurities of departed souls, were now carried to the greatest height, and exceeded far the terrifying apprehensions of infernal torments; for they hoped to avoid the latter easily, by dying enriched with the prayers of the Clergy, or covered with the merits and mediation of the Saints; while from the pains of Purgatory they knew there was no exemption. The Clergy, therefore, finding these superstitious terrors admirably adapted to encrease their authority and to promote their interest, used every method to augment them, and by the most pathetic discourses, accompanied with monstrous fables and fictitious miracles, they laboured to establish the doctrine of Purgatory, and also to make it appear that they had a mighty influence in that formidable region.

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THAT the whole Christian world was covered at this time, with a thick and gloomy veil of superstition is evident from a prodigious number of testimonies and examples which it is needless to mention. This horrible cloud, which hid almost every ray of truth from the eyes of the multitude, furnished a favourable opportunity to the Priests and Monks of propagating many absurd and ridiculous opinions, which contributed not a little to confirm their credit. Among these opinions, which dishonoured so frequently the Latin Church, and produced from time to time such violent agitations, none occasioned such a universal panic, nor such dreadful impressions of terror or dismay, as a notion that now prevailed of the immediate approach of the day of judgment. Hence prodigious numbers of people abandoned all their civil connexions and their parental relations, and giving over to the Churches or Monasteries all their lands, treasures, and worldly effects, repaired, with the utmost precipitation, to *Palestine*, where they imagined that Christ would descend from Heaven to judge the world. Others devoted themselves by a solemn and voluntary oath to the service of the Churches, Convents, and Priesthood, whose slaves they became, in the most rigorous sense of that word, performing daily their heavy tasks, and all this from a notion, that the Supreme Judge would diminish the severity of their sentence, and look upon them with a more favourable and propitious eye, on account of their having made themselves the slaves of his Ministers. When an eclipse of the sun or moon happened to be visible, the cities were deserted, and their miserable inhabitants fled for refuge to hollow caverns, and hid themselves among the craggy rocks, and under the bending

hending fummits of steep mountains. The opulent attempted to bribe the deity and the faintly tribe by rich donations conferred upon the Sacerdotal and Monastic orders, who were looked upon as the immediate vice gerents of Heaven. In many places, temples, palaces, and noble edifices, both public and private, were suffered to decay, nay, were deliberately pulled down, from a notion that they were no longer of any use since the final dissolution of all things was at hand. In a word, no language is sufficient to express the confusion and despair that tormented the minds of miserable mortals upon this occasion. This general delusion was, indeed, opposed and combated by the discerning few, who endeavoured to dispel these groundless terrors, and to efface the notion from which they arose, in the minds of the people.

THE number of the Saints, who were looked upon as Ministers of the kingdom of Heaven, and whose patronage was esteemed such an unspeakable blessing, was now multiplied every where, and the celestial courts were filled with new legions of this species of beings, some of which, as we had formerly occasion to observe, had no existence but in the imagination of their deluded clients and worshippers. This multitude of Saints may be easily accounted for, when we consider that superstition, the source of fear, was grown to such an enormous height in this age, as rendered the creation of new patrons necessary to calm the anxiety of trembling mortals. Besides the corruption and impiety that now reigned with a horrid sway, and the licentiousness and dissolution that had so

generally infected all ranks and orders of men, rendered the reputation of sanctity very easy to be acquired; for amidst such a perverse generation, it demanded no great efforts of virtue to be esteemed holy, and this no doubt contributed to increase considerably the number of the celestial advocates. All those, to whom nature had given an austere complexion, a gloomy temper, or an enthusiastic imagination, were, in consequence of an advantageous comparison with the profligate multitude, revered as the favourites of Heaven, and as the friends of God.

THE Roman Pontiff, who before this period had pretended to the right of creating Saints by his sole authority, gave, in this century, the first specimen of this ghostly power; for in the preceding ages there is no example of his having exercised this privilege alone. This specimen was given in the year 993, by John XV. who, with all the formalities of a solemn canonization, enrolled Udalric, Bishop of *Augsburg*, in the number of the Saints, and thus conferred upon him a title to the worship and veneration of Christians. (x) We must not, however, conclude from hence, that after this period the privilege of canonizing new Saints was vested solely in the Roman Pontiffs; (y) for there are several examples upon record, which prove, that not only provincial councils, but also several of the first order among the Bishops, advanced to the rank

(x) Franc. Page *Breviar. Pontif. Roman.* tom. ii. p. 259.

(y) This absurd opinion has been maintained with warmth by Phil. Bonuanus, in his *Numismata Pontif. Romanorum*, tom. i. p. 41.

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rank of Saints, such as they thought worthy of that high dignity, and continued thus to augment the celestial patrons of the Church, without ever consulting the Roman Pontiff, until the XIIth century. (z) Then Alexander III. abrogated this privilege of the Bishops and councils, and placed *canonization* in the number of the more important acts of authority, (a) which the Sovereign Pontiff alone, by a peculiar prerogative, was entitled to exercise.

THE controversies between the Greek and Latin Churches were now carried on with less noise and impetuosity than in the preceding century, on account of the troubles and calamities of the times; yet they were not entirely reduced to silence. (d) The writers therefore who affirm that this unhappy schism was healed, and that the contending parties were really reconciled to each other for a certain space of time, have grossly mistaken the matter; (e) though it be, indeed, true, that the tumults of the times produced now and then a cessation of these contests, and occasioned several truces, which insidiously concealed the bitterest enmity, and served often as a cover to the most treacherous designs. The Greeks

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were,

(z) See Franc. Pagi *Breviar. Pontif. Roman.* tom. ii. p. 260, tom. iii. p. 30.—Arm. De la Chapelle, *Biblioth. Angloise*, tom. x. p. 105.—Mabillon, *Prefat. ad Sæc. V. Benedict.* p. 53.

(a) These were called the *Causæ Majores*.

(d) Mich. Lequien. *Dissert. i. Damasceñica de processione spiritus sancti*, f. xiii. p. 12.—Fred. Spanheim, *De perpetua dissensione Ecclesiæ Oriental. et Occidental.* part IV. f. vii. p. 529, tom. ii. Opp.

(e) Leo Allatius, *De perpetua consensione Ecclesiæ Orient. et Occident.* lib. ii. cap. vii, viii. p. 600.

were, moreover, divided among themselves, and disputed with great warmth concerning the lawfulness of repeated (f) marriages, to which violent contest the case of Leo, surnamed the *Philosopher*, gave rise. This Emperor, having buried successively three wives without having had by them any male issue, espoused a fourth, whose name was Zoe Carbinopina, and who was born in the obscurity of a mean condition. As marriages repeated for the fourth time were held to be impure and unlawful by the Greek canons, Nicholas, the patriarch of *Constantinople*, suspended the Emperor, upon this occasion, from the communion of the Church. Leo, incensed at this rigorous proceeding, deprived Nicholas of the Patriarchal dignity, and raised Euthymius to that high office, who, though he re-admitted the Emperor to the bosom of the Church, yet opposed the decree which he had resolved to enact in order to render fourth marriages lawful. Upon this a schism attended with the bitterest animosities, divided the Clergy, one part of which declared for Nicolas, the other for Euthymius. Some time after this, Leo died, and was succeeded in the empire by Alexander, who deposed Euthymius, and restored Nicolas to his eminent rank in the Church. No sooner was this warm patriarch re-instated in his office, than he began to load the memory of the late Emperor with the bitterest execrations and the most opprobrious invectives, and to maintain the unlawfulness of fourth marriages with the utmost obstinacy. In order

(f) Fourth marriages, our author undoubtedly means, since second and third nuptials were allowed upon certain conditions.

der to appease these tumults, which portended numberless calamities to the state, Constantine Porphyrogenneta, the son of Leo, called together an assembly of the Clergy of *Constantinople* in the year 920, in which fourth marriages were absolutely prohibited and marriages for the third time were permitted on certain conditions; and thus the public tranquillity was restored (g).

SEVERAL other contests of like moment arose among the Greeks during this century; and they serve to convince us of the ignorance that prevailed among that people, and of their blind veneration and zeal for the opinions of their ancestors.

(g) These facts are faithfully collected from Cedrenus, Leunclivius *De Jure Græco Rôm.* tom. i. p. 104, from Leo the Grammarian, Simeon the treasurer, and other writers of the Byzantine history.

CHAP. IV.

Concerning the Rites and Ceremonies used in the Church during the Tenth Century.

IN order to have some notion of the load of ceremonies, under which the Christian religion groaned during this superstitious age, we have only to cast an eye upon the acts of the various councils which were assembled in *England, Germany, France and Italy*. The number of ceremonies increased in proportion to that of the Saints which multiplied from day to day; for each new saintly patron had appropriated to his service, a new festival, a new form of worship, a new round of religious rites; and the Clergy, notwithstanding their gross stupidity in other matters, discovered, in the creation of new ceremonies, a marvellous fertility of invention, attended with the utmost dexterity and artifice. It is also to be observed, that a great part of these new rites derived their origin from the various errors, which the barbarous nations had received from their ancestors, and still retained, even after their conversion to Christianity. The Clergy, instead of extirpating these errors, either gave them a Christian aspect by inventing certain religious rites to cover their deformity, or by explaining them in a forced allegorical manner; and thus they were perpetuated in the Church, and devoutly transmitted from age to age. We may also attribute a considerable number of the rites and institutions, that dishonoured religion, in the
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century, to foolish notions both concerning the Supreme Being, and departed Saints; for they imagined that God was like the Princes and great ones of the earth, who are rendered propitious by costly presents, and are delighted with those cringing salutations, and other marks of veneration and homage, which they receive from their subjects; and they believed likewise that departed spirits were agreeably affected with the same kind of services.

THE famous yearly festival that was celebrated in remembrance of *all departed souls*, was instituted by the authority of Odilo, Abbot of *Cluni*, and added to the Latin calendar towards the conclusion of this century. (h) Before this time, a custom had been introduced in many places of putting up prayers, on certain days, for the souls that were confined in Purgatory; but these prayers were made by each religious society, only for its own members, friends and patrons. The pious zeal of Odilo could not be confined within such narrow limits; and he therefore extended the benefit of these prayers to all souls, that laboured under the pains and trials of *Purgatory*. (i) This proceeding of Odilo was owing to the exhortations of a certain Sicilian hermit, who pretended to have learned, by an immediate revelation from Heaven, that the prayers of the Monks of *Cluni* would be effectual for the deliverance of departed spirits from the expiatory flames of a middle

(h) In the year 998.

(i) See Mabillon, *Acta SS. Bened. Sæc. vi. part I. p. 584*, where the reader will find the *life of Odilo*, with the decree he issued forth for the institution of this festival.

dle state. (k) Accordingly this festival was, at first, celebrated only by the *congregation of Cluni* ; but having received afterwards the approbation of one of the Roman Pontiffs, it was, by his order, kept with particular devotion in all the Latin Churches.

THE worship of the Virgin Mary, which, before this century, had been carried to a very high degree of idolatry, received now new accessions of solemnity and superstition. Towards the conclusion of this century, a custom was introduced among the Latins of celebrating masses and abstaining from flesh in honour of the blessed Virgin every Sabbath day. After this was instituted, what the Latins called, the *lesserservice*, in honour of St. Mary, which was, in the following century, confirmed by Urban II. in the council of *Clermont*. There are also to be found in this age manifest indications of the institution of the *Rosary*, and *Crown* of the Virgin, by which her worshippers were to reckon the number of prayers that they were to offer to this new divinity ; for though some place the invention of the *Rosary* in the xiiiith century, and attribute it to St. Dominic,

(k) The late Pontiff Benedict XIV. was artful enough to observe a profound silence with respect to the superstitious and dishonourable origin of this anniversary festival, in his treatise *De Fests J. Christi, Mariæ. et Sanctorum*, lib. iii. cap. xxii. p. 671, tom. x. oper. and by his silence he has plainly shewn to the world what he thought of this absurd festival. This is not the only mark of prudence and cunning, that is to be found in the works of that famous Pontiff.

Dominic, yet this supposition is made without any foundation.

(1) The *Rosary* consists in fifteen repetitions of the Lord's prayer, and an hundred and fifty salutations of the blessed Virgin; while the Crown, according to the different opinions of the learned, concerning the age of the blessed Virgin, consists in six or seven repetitions of the Lord's prayer, and six or seven times ten salutations, or *Ave Maria's*.

(1) This is demonstrated by Mabillon, *Præf. ad Acta SS. Ord. Bened. Sæc. v. p. 58.*

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THE
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THE
EXTERNAL HISTORY
OF THE
CHURCH.

CHAP. I.

*Concerning the Prosperous Events that happened to the
Church during this Century.*

IN the preceding century some faint notions of the
Christian religion, some scattered rays of that divine light
which it administers to mortals, had been received among the

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Hungarians, Danes, Poles, and Russians; but the rude and savage spirits of these nations, together with their deplorable ignorance and their violent attachment to the superstitions of their ancestors, rendered their total conversion to Christianity a work of great difficulty, and which could not be accomplished all of a sudden. The zeal, however, with which this important work was carried on, did much honour to the piety of the Princes and Governors of these unpolished countries, who united their influence with the labours of the learned men whom they had invited into their dominions, to open the eyes of their subjects upon the truth (a). In *Tartary* (b), and the adjacent countries, the zeal and diligence of the Nestorians gained over daily vast numbers to the profession of Christianity. It appears also evident from a multitude of unexceptionable testimonies, that Metropolitan Prelates, with a great number of inferior Bishops under their jurisdiction, were established at this time in the Provinces of *Casgar*, *Nuacheta*, *Turkestan*, *Genda*, and *Tangut* (c); from which we may conclude,

(a) For an account of the Poles, Russians, and Hungarians, see Romualdi *Vita in Actis Sanctor.* tom. ii. Februar. p. 113, 114, 117.

(b) *Tartary* is taken here in its most comprehensive sense; for between the inhabitants of *Tartary*, properly so called, and the Calmucs, Mogols, and the inhabitants of *Tangut*, there is manifest difference.

(c) Marcus Paul. Venetus *de Regionibus Orientalibus*, lib. i. cap. 38, 40, 45, 47, 48, 49, 62, 63, 64, lib. ii. cap. 39.—Euseb. Renaudot *Anciennes Relations des Indes et de la China*, p. 420.—Jof. Simon. *Assemani Biblioth. Orient. Vatican.* tom. iii. part II. p. DII, &c. This successful propagation of the Gospel,

clude, that, in this and the following century, there was a prodigious number of Christians in those very countries, which are at present over-run with mahometanism and idolatry. All these Christians undoubtedly Nestorians, and lived under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchs of that sect, who resided in *Chaldaea*.

AMONG the European nations that lay yet groveling in their native darkness and superstition, were the Sclavonians, the Obotriti (d), the Venedi (e), and the Prussians, whose conversion had been attempted, but with little or no success, by certain missionaries, from whose piety and zeal better fruits

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might

pel, by the Ministry of the Nestorians, in *Tartary*, *China*, and the neighbouring Provinces, is a most important event, and every way worthy to employ the researches and the pen of some able writer, well acquainted with oriental history. It must, indeed, be acknowledged, that, if this subject be important, it is also difficult on many accounts. It was attempted, however, notwithstanding its difficulty, by the most learned Theoph. Sigfried. Bayer, who had collected a great quantity of materials relative to this interesting branch of the history of Christianity, both from the works that have been published upon this subject, and from manuscripts that lie yet concealed in the cabinets of the curious. But, unhappily for the republic of letters, the death of that excellent man interrupted his labours, and prevented him from executing a design, which was worthy of his superior abilities, and his well known zeal, for the interests of religion.

(d) The Obotriti were a great and powerful branch of the Vandals, whose Kings resided in the country of *Mecklenburg*, and whose domination extended along the coasts of the *Baltic* from the river *Pene* in *Pomerania* to the dutchy of *Holstein*.

(e) The Venedi dwelt upon the banks of the *Weissel*, or *Vistula*, what is at present called, the Palatinate of *Marienburg*.

might have been expected. Towards the conclusion of the preceding century, Adalbert, Bishop of *Prague*, had endeavoured to infill into the minds of the fierce and savage Prussians, the salutary doctrines of the Gospel; but he perished in the fruitless attempt, and received, in the year 996, from the murdering lance of Siggo, a Pagan Priest, the crown of martyrdom (f). Boleslaus, King of *Poland*, revenged the death of this pious Apostle by entering into a bloody war with the Prussians, and he obtained by the force of penal laws and of a victorious army, what Adalbert could not effect by exhortation and argument (g). He dragooned this savage people into the Christian Church; yet besides this violent method of conversion, others of a more gentle kind were certainly practised by the attendants of Boleslaus, who seconded the military arguments of their Prince by the more persuasive influence of admonition and instruction. A certain ecclesiastic of illustrious birth, whose name was Boniface, and who was one of the Disciples of St. Romuald, undertook the conversion of the Prussians, and was succeeded in this pious enterprize by Bruno (h), who set out from *Germany* with a company of eighteen persons

(f) See the *Acta Sanctor.* ad d. xxiii Aprilis, p. 174.

(g) Solignac *Hist. de Pologne*, tom. i. p. 133.

(h) Fleury differs from Dr. Mosheim in his account of *Bruno*, in two points. First he maintains, that *Boniface* and *Bruno* were one and the same person, and here he is manifestly in the right; but he maintains farther, that he suffered Martyrdom in *Russia*, in which he is evidently mistaken. It is proper farther to admonish the reader to distinguish carefully the *Bruno* here mentioned, from a Monk of the same name, who founded the order of the Carthusians.

persons who had entered with zeal into the same laudable design. These were, however, all barbarously massacred by the fierce and cruel Prussians, and neither the vigorous efforts of Boleslaus, nor of the succeeding Kings of *Poland*, could engage this rude and inflexible nation to abandon totally the idolatry of their ancestors (i).

SICILY had been groaning under the dominion of the Saracens since the ninth century, nor had the repeated attempts of the Greeks and Latins to dispossess them of that rich and fertile country, been hitherto crowned with the desired success. But in this century the face of affairs changed entirely in that island; for in the year 1059, Robert Guiscard, who had formed a settlement in *Italy* at the head of a Norman colony, and was afterwards created Duke of *Apulia*, encouraged by the exhortations of the Roman Pontiff Nicholas II. and seconded by the assistance of his brother Roger, attacked with the greatest vigour and intrepidity the Saracens in *Sicily*; nor did this latter sheath the victorious sword, before he had rendered himself master of that island, and cleared it absolutely of its former tyrants. As soon as this great work was accomplished, which was not before the year 1090, Count Roger not only restored to its former glory and lustre the Christian religion, which had been almost totally extinguished under the Saracen yoke, but also established Bishopsrics, founded Monasteries,

(i) Ant. Pagi *Critica in Baronium*, tom. iv. ad Annum 1008, p. 97.—Christ. Hartnack's *Ecclesiastical History of Prussia*, book I. ch. i. p. 12.

nafteries, erected magnificent Churches throughout that Province, and bestowed upon the Clergy those immense revenues and those distinguished honours which they still enjoy (k). It is in the privileges conferred upon this valiant chief, that we find the origin of that supreme authority in matters of religion, which is still vested in the Kings of *Sicily*, within the limits of their own territories, and which is known by the name of the *Sicilian Monarchy*; for the Roman Pontiff Urban II. is said to have granted, A. D. 1097, by a special diploma, to Roger and his successors the title, authority, and prerogatives of hereditary legates of the Apostolic See. The Court of *Rome* affirms, that this diploma is not authentic: and hence those warm contentions about the spiritual supremacy, that have arisen even in our times between the Bishops of *Rome* and the Kings of *Sicily*. The successors of Roger governed that island, under the titles of Dukes, until the twelfth century, when it was erected into a kingdom. (l).

THE Roman Pontiffs, from the time of Sylvester II. had been forming plans, for extending the limits of the Church in *Asia*, and especially for driving the Mahometans out of *Palestine*; but the troubles, in which *Europe* was so long involved, prevented the execution of these arduous designs. Gregory VII. the most enterprising and audacious Pontiff that ever sat in the Apostolic chair, animated and inflamed by the repeated complaints which the Asiatic Christians made of the cruelty of the Saracens, resolved to undertake in person a holy war for the deliverance of the Church, and upwards of fifty thousand

men

(k) See Burigni *Histoire Generale de la Sicile*, tom. i. p. 386.

(l) See Baronii *Liber de Monarchia Sicilia*, tom. xi. *Annales* alio Da Pin *Traité de la Monarchie Sicilienne*.

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men were already mustered to follow him in this bold expedition (m). But his quarrel with the Emperor Henry IV. of which we shall have occasion to speak hereafter, and other unforeseen occurrences, obliged him to lay aside his intended invasion of the holy land. The project, however, was renewed, towards the conclusion of this century, by the enthusiastic zeal of an inhabitant of *Amiens*, who was known by the name of Peter the Hermit, and who suggested to the Roman Pontiff Urban II. the means of accomplishing what had been unluckily suspended. This famous hermit, in a voyage which he made through *Palestine*, A. D. 1093, had observed with inexpressible anguish, the vexations and persecutions which the Christians, who visited the holy places, suffered from the barbarous and tyrannic Saracens. Inflamed therefore with a holy indignation and a furious zeal, which he looked upon as the effect of a divine impulse, he implored the succours of Symeon, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and Urban II. but without effect. Far from being discouraged by this, he renewed his efforts with the utmost vigour, went through all the countries of *Europe* sounding the alarm of a *holy* war against the infidel nations, and exhorting all Christian Princes to draw the sword against the tyrants of *Palestine*; nor did he stop here; but with a view to engage the superstitious and ignorant multitude in his cause, he carried about with him a letter, which he said was written in Heaven, and addressed from thence to all true Christians to animate their zeal for the deliverance of their

(m) Gregorii VII. *Epist.* lib. ii. 3. in Harduini *Conciliis*, tom. vi. part I. p. 1285.

their brethren, who groaned under the oppressive burthen of a Mahometan yoke (n).

WHEN Urban II. saw the way prepared by the exhortations of the hermit, who had put the spirits of the people every where in a ferment, and had kindled in their breasts a vehement zeal for that holy carnage which the Church had long been meditating, he assembled a grand and numerous council at *Placentia*, A. D. 1095, and recommended warmly, for the first time, the sacred expedition against the infidel Saracens. (o) This arduous enterprize was far from being approved of by the greatest part of this numerous assembly, notwithstanding the presence of the Emperor's legates, who in their master's name, represented most pathetically how necessary it was to set limits to the power of the victorious Turks, whose authority and dominion increased from day to day. The Pontiff's proposal was, however, renewed with the same zeal, and with the desired success, some time after this, in the council assembled at *Clermont*, where Urban was present. The pompous and pathetic speech, which he delivered upon this, made a deep and powerful impression upon the minds of the French, whose natural character renders them much superior

(n) This circumstance is mentioned by the Abbot Dodechinus, in his *Continuat. Chronici Mariani Scoti Scriptor. Germanicor. Jo. Pistorii*, tom. i. p. 462. For an account of Peter, see Du Fresne *nota ad Annæ Comnenæ Alexiadem*, p. 79. edit. Venet.

(o) This council was the most numerous of any that had been hitherto assembled, and was, on that account, held in the open fields. There were present at it two hundred Bishops, four thousand Ecclesiastics, and three thousand Laymen.

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superior to the Italians in encountering difficulties, facing danger, and attempting the execution of the most perilous designs. So that an innumerable multitude composed of all ranks and orders in the nation, offered themselves as volunteers in this sacred expedition. (p) This numerous host was looked upon as formidable in the highest degree, and equal to the most glorious enterprizes and exploits, while, in reality, it was no more than an unwieldy body without life and vigour, and was weak and contemptible in every respect. This will appear sufficiently evident, when we consider that this army was a motley assemblage of Monks, prostitutes, artists, labourers, lazy tradesmen, merchants, boys, girls, slaves, malefactors, and profligate debauchees, and that it was principally composed of the lowest dregs of the multitude, who were animated solely by the prospect of spoil and plunder, and hoped to make their fortunes by this holy campaign. Every one will perceive how little either discipline, counsel, or fortitude were to be expected from such a miserable rabble. This expedition was distinguished, in the French language, by the name of a *croisade*, and all who embarked in it were called *croise's*, or cross-bearers; not only because the end of this holy war was to wrest the Cross of Christ out of the hands of the infidels,

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but

(p) Theod. Ruinart. in *Vita Urbani II.* f. ccxxv. p. 224, 299, 240, 272, 282, 296, tom. iii. opp. Posthum.—J. Mabillon *et* Theod. Ruinarti, Jo. Harduini *Concilior.* tom. xi. part II. p. 1726.—Baronius *Annal. Eccl.* tom. xi. ad A. 1095, n. xxxiii. p. 648.

but also on account of the consecrated Cross of various colours, which every foldier wore upon his right shoulder. (q)

IN consequence of these grand preparations, eight hundred thousand men, in separate bodies, and under different commanders, set out for *Constantinople* in the year 1096; that having received there both assistance and direction from Alexius Comnenus the Grecian Emperor, they might pursue their march into *Asia*. One of the principal divisions of this enormous body was led on by Peter the Hermit, the author and fomentor of the war, who was girded with a rope, and continued to appear with all the marks of an austere solitary. This first division in their march through *Hungary* and *Thrace*, committed the most flagitious crimes, which so incensed the inhabitants of the countries through which they passed, particularly those of *Hungary* and *Turcomania*, that they rose up in arms and massacred the greatest part of them. A like fate attended several other divisions of the same army, who, under the conduct of weak and unskilful chiefs, wandered about like an undisciplined band of robbers, plundering the cities that lay in their way, and spreading misery and desolation wherever they came. The armies, that were headed by illustrious commanders, distinguished by their birth and their military endowments, arrived more happily at the capital of the Grecian empire.

(q) See Abrah. Bzovius *Continuat. Annal. Baronii*, tom. xv. ad A. 1410. n. ix. p. 322. edit. Colon.—L'enfant *Histoire du Concile de Pise*, tom. ii. lib. v. p. 60.—The writers who have treated of this holy war are mentioned by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, in his *Lux Evangelii toto exoriens*, cap. xxx. p. 518.

empire. That which was commanded by Godfrey of *Bouillon*, Duke of *Lorraine*, who deserves a place among the greatest heroes, whether of ancient or modern times, (r) and, by his brother Baldwin, was composed of eighty thousand well chosen troops, horse and foot, (s) and directed its march through *Germany* and *Hungary*. Another, which was headed by Raimond, Earl of *Toulouse*, passed through the Slavonian territories. Robert Earl of *Flanders*, Robert Duke of *Normandy*, (t) Hugo, brother to Philip I. King of *France*, embarked their

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respective

(r) The Benedictine Monks have given an ample account of this magnanimous chief, whose character was a bright assemblage of all christian, civil, and heroic virtues, in their *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. viii. p. 598.

(s) The engaging and illustrious virtues of Godfrey had drawn from all parts a prodigious number of volunteers, who were ambitious to fight under his standard. This enormous multitude perplexed, however, the valiant chief, who on that account, divided it into several bodies, and finding in Peter the Hermit the same ambitious and military spirit that had prevailed in him before his retreat from the world, declared him the general of the first division, which was detached from the rest, and ordered to march immediately to *Constantinople*. By this means, Godfrey got rid of the dregs of that astonishing multitude which flocked to his camp. Father Maimbourg, notwithstanding his immoderate zeal for the holy war, and that fabulous turn which enables him to represent it in the most favourable points of view, acknowledges frankly, that the first division of this prodigious army committed the most abominable enormities in the countries through which they passed, and that there was no kind of insolence, injustice, impurity, barbarity, and violence of which they were not guilty. Nothing perhaps in the annals of history can equal the flagitious deeds of this infernal rabble. See particularly Maimbourg, *Histoire des Croisades*, tom. i. livre i. p. 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 2d edit. in 12mo.

(t) Eldest son to William the Conqueror.

respective forces in a fleet which was assembled at *Brundisi* and *Tarento*, from whence they were transported to *Durazzo*, or *Dyrrachium*, as it was antiently called. These armies were followed by *Boemon*, Duke of *Apulia* and *Calabria*, at the head of a chosen and numerous body of valiant Normans.

THIS army was the greatest, and, in outward appearance, the most formidable, that had been known in the memory of man; and, though before its arrival at *Constantinople*, it was diminished considerably by the difficulties and oppositions it had met with on the way; yet such as it was, it made the Grecian Emperor tremble, and filled his mind with the most anxious and terrible apprehensions of some secret design against his dominions. His fears, however, were dispelled, when he saw these legions pass the Straights of *Gallipolis*, and direct their march towards *Bithynia*. (u)

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(u) Our author, for the sake of brevity, passes over the contests and jealousies that subsisted between the chief of the crusade and the Grecian Emperor. The character of the latter is differently painted by different historians. The warm defenders of the crusade represent him as a most perfidious Prince, who, under the shew of friendship and zeal, aimed at nothing less than the destruction of Godfrey's army. Others considered him as a wise, prudent politician, who, by artifice and stratagem, warded off the danger he had reason to apprehend from those formidable legions that had passed through his dominions; and part of which, particularly the army commanded by *Peter the Hermit*, ravaged his most fruitful territories in the most barbarous manner, and pillaged and plundered even the suburbs of the capital of the empire. The truth of the matter is, that if *Alexis* cannot be vindicated from the

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THE first successful enterprize, (w) that was formed against the infidels, was the siege of *Nice*, the capital of *Bythynia*, which was taken in the year 1097; from thence the victorious army proceeded into *Syria*, and, in the following year, subdued *Antioch*, which, with its fertile territory, was granted, by the assembled chiefs, to Boemond, Duke of *Apulia*. *Edeffa* fell next into the hands of the victors, and became the property of Baldwin, brother to Godfrey of *Bouillon*. The conquest of *Jerusalem*, which, after a siege of five weeks, submitted to their arms in the year 1099, seemed to crown their expedition with the desired success. In this city were laid the foundation of a new kingdom, at the head of which was placed the famous Godfrey, whom the army saluted King of *Jerusalem* with an unanimous voice. But this illustrious hero, whose other eminent qualities were adorned with the greatest modesty, refused that high title (x), though he governed *Jerusalem* with that valour, equity, and prudence, that have rendered

the charge of perfidy, the holy warriors are on the other hand, chargeable with many acts of brutality and injustice. See Maimbourg, *Histoire des Croisades*, livre i. et ii.

(w) Before the arrival of Godfrey in *Asia*, the army, or rather rabble, commanded by Peter the Hermit in such a ridiculous manner as might be expected from a wrong-headed Monk, was defeated and cut to pieces by young Soliman.

(x) All the historians, who write concerning this holy war, applaud the answer which Godfrey returned to the offer that was made him of a crown of gold, as a mark of his accession to the throne of *Jerusalem*; the answer was, that *he could not bear the thoughts of wearing a crown of gold in that city, where the King of Kings had been crowned with thorns*. This answer was sublime in the eleventh century.

rendered his name immortal. Having chosen a small army to support him in his new dignity, he permitted the rest of the troops to return into *Europe*. He did not, however, enjoy long the fruits of a victory, in which his heroic valour had been so gloriously displayed, but died about a year after the conquest of *Jerusalem*, leaving his dominions to his brother Baldwin, Prince of *Edeffa*, who assumed the title of King without the least hesitation.

We pass in silence the various enormities that were occasioned by these crusades, the murders, rapes, and robberies of the most infernal nature, that were every where committed with impunity by these holy soldiers of God and of Christ, as they were impiously called; nor shall we enter into a detail of the new privileges and rights, to which these wars gave rise, and which were often attended with the greatest inconveniencies (y).

These holy wars were not less prejudicial to the cause of religion, and the true interests of the Christian Church, than they

(y) Such persons, as entered into these expeditions, and were distinguished by the badge of the military cross, acquired thereby certain remarkable rights, which were extremely prejudicial to the rest of their fellow-citizens. Hence it happened, that when any of these *holy* soldiers contracted any civil obligations, or entered into conventions of sale, purchase, or any such transactions, they were previously required to *renounce all privileges and immunities*, which they had obtained or might obtain in time to come by taking on the cross. See Le Beuf, *Memoires sur l'Histoire d'Auxerre*, Append. tom. ii. p. 292.

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they were to the temporal concerns of men. One of the first and most pernicious effects was the enormous augmentation of the influence and authority of the Roman Pontiffs: they also contributed, in various ways to enrich the Churches and Monasteries with daily accessions of wealth, and to open new sources of opulence to all the Sacerdotal Orders. For they who assumed the cross, disposed of their possessions as if they were at the point of death, and this on account of the imminent and innumerable dangers they were to be exposed to in their passage to the holy land, and the opposition they were to encounter there upon their arrival. They therefore for the most part, made their wills before their departure, and left a considerable part of their possessions to the Priests and Monks, in order to obtain by these *pious* legacies, the favour and protection of the Deity. (2) Many examples of these do actions are to be found in ancient records. Such of these *holy* soldiers, as had been engaged in suits of law with the Priests or Monks, renounced their pretensions, and submissively gave up whatever it was that had been the subject of debate. And others, who had seized upon any of the possessions of the Churches or Convents, or had heard of any injury that had been committed against the Clergy, by the remotest of their ancestors made the most liberal restitution, both for their own usurpations and those of their fore-fathers, and made ample satisfaction for the real or pretended injuries they had committed against the Church by rich and costly donations. (a)

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(2) See Plessis *Hist. de Meaux*, tom. ii. p. 76, 79, 141.—*Gallica Christiana*, tom. ii. *Append.* p. 31.—Du Fresne, *Notæ ad Vitam Ludovici Sancti*, p. 52. Le Beuf, *Memoires pour l'Histoire d'Auxerre*, tom. ii. *Append.* p. 31.

(a) Du Fresne, l. c. p. 52.

NOR were these the only unhappy effects of these holy expeditions, considered with respect to their influence upon the state of religion, and the affairs of the Christian Church. For while whole legions of Bishops and Abbots girded the sword to their thigh, and went as generals, volunteers, or chaplains into *Palestine*, the Priests and Monks, who had lived under their jurisdiction, and were more or less awed by their authority, threw off all restraint, lived the most lawless and profligate lives, and abandoning themselves to all sorts of licentiousness, committed the most flagitious and extravagant excesses without reluctance or remorse. The monster Superstition, which was already grown to an enormous size, received new accessions of strength and influence by this holy war, and exercised with more vehemence than ever its despotic dominion over the minds of the Latins. For the crowd of saints, and tutelary patrons, whose number was prodigious before this period, was now augmented by fictitious saints of Greek and Syrian origin, (b) which had hitherto been unknown in *Europe*, and an incredible quantity of relics,

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(b) The Roman Catholic historians acknowledge, that, during the time of the Crusades, many Saints, unknown to the Latins before that period, were imported into *Europe* from *Greece* and the Eastern Provinces, and were treated with the utmost respect and the most devout veneration. Among these new patrons, there were some, whose exploits, and even their existence, were called in question. Such among others, was St. Catharine, whom Baronius and Cassander represent as having removed from *Syria* into *Europe*. See Baronius, *Ad Martyrol. Roman.* p. 728.—George Cassander, *Schol. ad hymnos Ecclesie*, p. 278, 279, opp. *Paris*, 1616, Fol. It is however, extremely doubtful, whether or no this Catharine, who is honoured as the patroness of learned men, ever existed.

the greatest part of which were ridiculous in the highest degree, were imported into the European Churches. The armies, that returned from *Asia* after the taking of *Jerusalem*, brought with them a vast number of these faintly relics, which they bought at a high price from the cunning Greeks and Syrians, and which they considered as the noblest spoils that could crown their return from the holy land. These they committed to the custody of the Clergy, in the Churches and Monasteries, or ordered them to be most carefully preserved in their families from generation to generation. (c)

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(c) The sacred treasures of musty relics, which the French, Germans, Britons, and other European nations, preserved formerly with so much care, and shew even in our times with such pious ostentation, are certainly not more ancient than these holy wars, but were then purchased at a high rate from the Greeks and Syrians. These cunning traders in superstition, whose avarice and fraud were excessive, imposed upon the credulity of the simple and ignorant Latins, and often sold them fictitious relics. Richard King of England bought, in the year 1191, from the famous Saladin, all the relics that were found in *Jerusalem*, as appears from the testimony of Matthew de Paris, *Hist. Major*, p. 138. who tells us also, p. 666, of the same work, that the Dominicans brought from *Palestine* a white stone, in which Jesus Christ had left the print of his feet. The Genoese pretend to have received from Baldwin, second King of *Jerusalem*, the very dish in which the paschal lamb was served up to Christ and his Disciples at the last Supper; though this famous dish excites the laughter of even father Labat, in his *Voyages en Espagne et en Italie*, tom. ii. p. 63. For an account of the prodigious quantity of relics, which St. Louis brought from *Palestine* into *France*, we refer the reader to the life of that Prince composed by Joinville, and published by Du Fresne; as also to Plessis, *Histoire de l'Eglise de Meaux*, tom. ii. p. 120, and Lancelot, *Memoires pour la vie de l'Abbe de*
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CHAP. II.

Concerning the Doctors and Ministers of the Church, and its form of Government, during this Eleventh Century.

ALL the records of this century loudly complain of the vices that reigned among the rulers of the Church, and, in general, among the sacerdotal orders; they also deplore that universal decay of piety and discipline, that was the consequence of this corruption in a set of men, who were bound to support, by their example, their authority and their instructions, the sacred interests of religion and virtue. The Western Bishops were no sooner elevated to the rank of Dukes, Counts, and Nobles, and enriched with ample territories, than they gave themselves up entirely to the dominion of pleasure and ambition, and, wholly employed in displaying the magnificence of their temporal stations, frequented the courts of Princes, accompanied always with a splendid train of attendants and domestics. (d) The inferior orders of the cler-

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St. Cyran, tom. ii. p. 175. Christ's handkerchief which is worshipped at *Bezancon*, was brought there from the holy land. See Jo. Jac. Chifflet, *Vesentia*, part II. p. 108, & *de Linteis Christi Sepulchralibus*, c. ix. p. 50. Many other examples of this miserable superstition may be seen in Anton. Matthæi *Analeſta veteris ævi*, tom. ii. p. 677.

(d) See among other examples of this episcopal grandeur, that of Adalbert, in Adam. *Bremens*. lib. iii. cap. xxiii. p. 38. lib.

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gy were also licentious in their own way; few among them preserved any remains of piety and virtue, we might add, of decency and discretion. While their rulers were wallowing in luxury, and basking in the beams of worldly pomp and splendor, they were indulging themselves, without the least sense of shame in fraudulent practices, in impure and lascivious gratifications, and even in the commission of the most flagitious crimes. The Grecian Clergy were somewhat less chargeable with these shocking irregularities, as the calamities under which their country groaned, imposed a restraint upon their passions, and gave a check to their licentiousness. Yet, notwithstanding these salutary restraints, there were few examples of piety and virtue to be found among them.

THE authority and lustre of the Latin Church, or, to speak more properly, the power and dominion of the Roman Pontiffs, arose in this century to their highest period, though they arose by degrees, and had much opposition and many difficulties to conquer. In the preceding age the Pontiffs had acquired a great degree of authority in religious matters, and in every thing that related to the government of the Church; and their credit and influence increased prodigiously towards the commencement of this century. For then they received the pompous titles of *masters of the world*, and *Popes*, i. e.

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iv. cap. xxxv. p. 52, that of Gunther, in the *Lectiones Antiquæ* of Canisius, tom. iii. part I. p. 185, and that of Manassès. in the *Museum Italicum* of Mabillon, tom. i. p. 114. Add to all these Muratori *Antiq. Ital. mediæ ævi*. tom. vi. p. 72.

universal fathers ; they presided also every where in the councils by their legates ; assumed the authority of supreme arbiters in all controversies that arose concerning religion or church discipline ; and maintained the pretended rights of the church against the encroachments and usurpations of Kings and Princes. Their authority, however, was confined within certain limits ; for on the one hand, it was restrained by Sovereign Princes, that it might not arrogantly aim at civil dominion ; and on the other, it was opposed by the Bishops themselves, that it might not arise to a spiritual despotism, and utterly destroy the liberty and privileges of synods and councils. (e) From the time of Leo IX. the Popes employed every method, which the most artful ambition could suggest, to remove these limits, and to render their dominion both despotic and universal. They not only aspired to the character of supreme legislators in the Church, to an unlimited jurisdiction over all synods and councils whether general or provincial, to the sole distribution of all ecclesiastical honours and benefices as divinely authorised and appointed for that purpose, but they carried their insolent pretensions so far as to give themselves out for lords of the universe, arbiters of the fate of kingdoms and empires, and supreme rulers of the kings and princes of the earth. Before Leo IX. no Pope was so enormously impudent as to claim this unbounded authority,

or

(e) The very learned Launoy (in his *Affertio contra Privilegium Sancti Medardi*, part II. cap. xxxi. opp. tom. iii. part II, p. 307.) has given us an accurate account of the ecclesiastical law, and of the power of the hierarchy during this century, which he collected from the letters of Pope Gregory VII. from which account it appears, that Gregory, ambitious as he was, did not pretend to a supreme and despotic authority in the Church.

or to assume the power of transferring territories and provinces from their lawful possessors to new masters. This Pontiff gave the example of such an amazing pretension to his *holy* successors, by granting to the Normans, who had settled in *Italy*, the lands and territories which they had already usurped, or were employed in forcing out of the hands of the Greeks and Saracens. (f) The ambition, however, of the aspiring Popes was opposed by the Emperors, the Kings of *France*, by William the Conqueror, who was the boldest assertor of the rights and privileges of royalty against the high claims of the Apostolic See, (g) and also by several other Princes. Nor did

(f) See Gaufr. Malaterra *Hist. Sicula*. lib. i. cap. xiv. p. 553. tom. v. *Scriptor. Ital.* Muratorii.

(g) See Eadmeri *Historia novorum*, lib. i. p. 29, which is published at the end of the works of Anselm, Archbishop of *Canterbury*. It is proper to observe here, that if it is true on the one hand, that William the Conqueror opposed, on many occasions, with the utmost vehemence and zeal the growing power of the Roman Pontiffs, and of the aspiring Bishops; it is no less certain, on the other, that to accomplish his ambitious views, he, like many other European Princes, had recourse to the influence of the Pontiffs upon the minds of the multitude, and thereby nourished and encouraged the pride and ambition of the court of *Rome*. For while he was preparing all things for his expedition into *England*, he sent Ambassadors to Pope Alexander II. in order (as Matthew Paris says, *Hist. Major*, lib. i. p. 2.) to have his undertaking approved and justified by Apostolical authority; and the Pope, having considered the claims of the contending parties, sent a standard to William as the omen of his approaching royalty. It is highly probable, that the Normans in *Italy* had made the same humble request to Leo IX. and demanded his confirmation both of the possessions they had acquired, and of those they designed to usurp. And when we consider all this, it will not appear so

did the Bishops, particularly those of *France* and *Germany*, sit tamely silent under the Papal yoke ; many of them endeavoured to maintain their rights and the privileges of the Church ; but as many, seduced by the allurements of interest or the dictates of superstition, sacrificed their liberties, and yielded to the Pontiffs. Hence it happened, that those imperious Lords of the Church, though they did not entirely gain their point, nor satisfy to the full their raging ambition, yet obtained vast augmentations of power, and extended their authority from day to day.

BENEDICT VIII. who was raised to the Pontificate in the year 1012, being obliged by his competitor Gregory to leave *Rome*, fled into *Germany* for succour, and threw himself at the feet of Henry II. by whom he was reinstated in the Apostolic chair, which he possessed in peace until the year 1024. It was during his Pontificate, that those famous Normans, who make such a shining figure in history, came into *Italy*, and reduced several of its richest provinces under their dominion. Benedict IX. was a most abandoned profligate, and a wretch capable of the most horrid crimes, whose flagitious conduct drew upon him the just resentment of the Romans, who, in the year 1058, degraded him from his office. He was afterwards indeed restored, by the Emperor Conrad, to the Papal chair ; but, instead of learning circumspection and prudence from his former disgrace, he grew still more scandalous

so surprizing that the Popes aimed at universal empire, since they were encouraged to this by the mean submissions and servile homage of the European Princes.

dalous in his life and manners, and so provoked the Roman people by his repeated crimes, that they deposed him a second time, A. D. 1044, and elected in his place John Bishop of *Sabina*, who assumed the name of Sylvester III. About three months after this new revolution, the relations and adherents of Benedict rose up in arms, drove Sylvester out of the city, and restored the degraded Pontiff to his forfeited honours, which, however, he did not enjoy long; for, perceiving that there was no possibility of appeasing the resentment of the Romans, he sold the Pontificate to John Gratian, Arch-priest of *Rome*, who took the name of Gregory VI. Thus the Church had, at the same time, two chiefs, Sylvester and Gregory, whose rivalry was the occasion of much trouble and confusion. This contest was terminated in the year 1046, in the council held at *Sutri* by the Emperor Henry III. who so ordered matters, that Benedict, Gregory and Sylvester were declared unworthy of the Pontificate, and Suidger, Bishop of *Bamberg*, was raised to that dignity, which he enjoyed for a short time under the title of Clement II. We pass in silence six Popes, as uninteresting, and come to Nicolas II. who makes a greater figure in history than several of his predecessors. Nicolas assembled a council at *Rome*, A. D. 1059, in which among many salutary laws designed to heal the inveterate disorders that had afflicted the Church, one remarkable decree was passed for changing the ancient form of electing the Roman Pontiff; this alteration was designed to prevent the tumults and commotions which divided *Italy*, when a new Pope was to be elected. The same Pontiff received the homage of the Normans, and solemnly created Robert Guiscard Duke of *Apulia*,

Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily, on condition that he should observe, as a faithful vassal, an inviolable allegiance to the Roman Church, and pay an annual tribute in acknowledgment of his subjection to the Apostolic See. By what authority Nicolas confirmed the Norman Prince in the possession of these provinces, is more than we know; certain it is, that he had no sort of property in the lands which he granted so liberally to the Normans, who held them already by the odious right of conquest. (h) Perhaps the lordly Pontiff founded this right of cession upon the fictitious donation of Constantine, which has been already taken notice of; or probably, seduced by the artful and ambitious suggestions of Hildebrand, who had himself an eye upon the Pontificate, and afterwards filled it, in effect, under the adopted name of Gregory VII. he imagined that, as Christ's vicegerent, the Roman Pontiff was the King of Kings, and had the whole universe for his domain. It is well known that Hildebrand had a supreme ascendant in the counsels of Nicolas, and that the latter neither undertook nor executed any thing without his direction. Be that as it may, it was the feudal grant made to Guiscard by this Pope, that laid the foundation of the kingdom of *Naples*, and of the two *Sicilies*, and of the sovereignty over that kingdom which the Roman Pontiffs constantly claim, and which the Sicilian monarchs annually acknowledge.

BEFORE

(h) See Muratori *Annali d'Italia*, tom. vi. p. 186.—Baronius *Annal. ad A. 1060.*

BEFORE the Pontificate of Nicolas II. the Popes were chosen not only by the suffrages of the *Cardinals*, but also by those of the whole Roman Clergy, the nobility, the burgessees, and the assembly of the people. An election, in which such a confused and jarring multitude was concerned, could not but produce continual factions, animosities and tumults. To prevent these, as far as was possible, this artful and provident Pontiff had a law passed, by which the *Cardinals*, as well Presbyters as Bishops, were impowered, upon a vacancy in the See of *Rome*, to elect a new Pope, without any prejudice to the ancient privileges of the Roman Emperors in this important matter. (i) Nor were the rest of the Clergy, with the

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(i) It does not appear, that Nicolas was at all solicitous about the privileges of the Emperor, and his authority in the election of the Bishop of *Rome*; for the words of the decree in all the various copies of it are to this import: "The Cardinals shall first deliberate concerning the election of a Pontiff, and the consent of the other Clergy and of the people shall be required to confirm their choice. The Pope shall be chosen out of the members that compose the Church of *Rome*, if a proper person can be found among them; if not, he shall be elected elsewhere. *All this without any prejudice to the honour of our dear son Henry (who is now King and shall be soon Emperor, as we have already promised him) or to the honour of his successors on whom the Apostolic See shall confer personally and successively the same high privilege.*" Here we see the good Pontiff taking manifestly advantage of the minority of Henry IV. to depreciate and diminish the ancient prerogatives of the imperial crown, and to magnify the authority of the Papal mitre; for he declares as a *personal right* granted by the Roman See to each Emperor of *Germany* during many preceding ages. See Fleury *Eccles. Hist.* Vol. xiii. livre lx. p. 64, 65, *Brussels* edit.—It is proper to observe here, that the cringing and ignoble submission of Charles the Bald, who would not accept of
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burghesses and people, excluded from all part in this election, since their consent was solemnly demanded, and also esteemed of much weight. In consequence, however, of this new regulation, the *Cardinals* acted the principal part in the creation of the new Pontiff; though they suffered for a long time much opposition both from the sacerdotal orders and the Roman citizens, who were constantly either reclaiming their ancient rights, or abusing the privilege they yet retained of confirming the election of every new Pope by their approbation and consent. In the following century there was an end put to all these disputes by Alexander III. who was so lucky as to finish and complete what Nicolas had only begun, and who transferred and confined to the college of *Cardinals* the right of electing to the Apostolic See, excluding the nobility, the people, and the rest of the clergy, from all concern in this important matter. (k)

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the title of Emperor before it was conferred upon him by the Roman Pontiff, occasioned in process of time, that absurd notion that the papal consecration was requisite in order to qualify the Kings of *Germany* to assume the title of Roman Emperors, though, without that consecration, these Kings had all *Italy* under their dominion, and exercised in every part of it the various rights and prerogatives of Sovereignty. Hence the Kings of *Germany* were first styled Kings of the Franks and Lombards, afterwards Kings of the Romans until the year 1508, when Maximilian I. changed the title of *King* into that of Emperor.

(k) See Mabillon, *Comm. in Ord. Roman.* tom. ii. *Musei Italici*, p. 114.—Constant. Conni *Fraf. ad Concilium Lateran. Stephani*, iii. p. 18. *Rom.* 1735, in 4to.—Franc. Pagi *Breviarium Pontif. Romanor.* tom. ii. p. p. 374.

It may not be improper here to give some account of the origin of the *Cardinals* (l), and the nature of their privileges and functions. Many writers (m) have treated this subject in an ample manner, and have shed upon it a profusion of erudition, which deserves, no doubt, the highest applause; but they are, generally speaking, defective in perspicuity and precision; nor do I know of any, who have confined themselves to the true state of the question, and investigated, in a satisfactory manner, the true origin of the office of Cardinal, and the reasons that occasioned the institution of that order of ecclesiastics. Several learned men have employed much time and labour in fixing the sense of the word *Cardinal*, and in illustrating its meaning from ancient monuments and records; but, however worthy of a curious philologist these researches may be, yet they contribute little or nothing to clear up the point in question, or to convey an accurate and satisfactory notion of the true origin of the College of Cardinals, and the nature of that ecclesiastical dignity. It is certain, that the

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word

(l) The translator has here incorporated into the text the long and important note (c) of the original, concerning the *Cardinals*. The citations and references only are thrown into the notes.

(m) The authors who have written concerning the name, origin and rights of the *Cardinals*, are enumerated by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, in his *Bibliogr. Antiquar.* p. 455, 456.—Casp. Sagittarius, *Introd. ad Historiam Ecclesiast.* cap. xxix p. 771, et Jo. Andr. Schmidius in Supplement, p. 644, add to these Ludov. Thomassini *Disciplina Ecclesia vetus a nova*, tom. i. lib. ii. cap. 115, 116, p. 616. Christ. Gryphius *Isagoge ad Historiam Seculi xvii.* p. 430, & Lud. Ant. Muratori, whose learned dissertation *De origine Cardinalatus* is published in his *Antiq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. v. p. 156.

word *Cardinal*, when applied to persons or things, or more especially to the sacred order, was, according to the language of the middle age, a term of dubious signification, and was susceptible of various senses. It is also well known, that in former times this title was, by no means, peculiar to the Priests and Ministers of the Church of *Rome*, but was in use in all the Latin Churches, and that not only the *Secular* Clergy, but also the *regular*, such as Abbots, Canons, and Monks, were capable of this denomination, and were stiled *Cardinals*, though in different senses. But after the Pontificate of Alexander III. the common use of the term *Cardinal* was gradually diminished and it was confined to such only as were immediately concerned in the election of the Pope, and who had the right of suffrage in this weighty matter. So that when we inquire into the origin of the college of *Cardinals* at *Rome*, the question is not, who they were, that in the remoter periods of the Church were distinguished, among the Latins in general, or at *Rome* in particular, from the rest of the Clergy, by the name of *Cardinals*; nor do we inquire into the proper signification of that term, or into the various senses in which it was formerly employed; the true state of the question is this: Who the persons were that Nicolas II. comprehended under the denomination of *Cardinals*, when he vested in the Roman *Cardinals* alone the right of electing the new Pontiff, and excluded from that important privilege the rest of the Clergy, the Nobility, the Burgesses and the people? When this is known with certainty, then we shall have a just notion of the college of *Cardinals* in its first rise, and shall also perceive the difference there is between the first *Cardinals*, and those of

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our times. Now this may easily be learned from the edict of Nicolas II. which sets the matter in the clearest light. *We have thought proper to enact*, says the Pontiff, *that, upon the decease of the Bishop of the Roman Catholic or Universal Church, the affair of the election be treated principally and previously to all other deliberations, among the Cardinal Bishops alone, who shall afterwards call into their council the Cardinal clerks, and require finally the consent of the rest of the Clergy and the people to their election* (n). Here we see, that the Pontiff divides into two classes the *Cardinals* who were to have the right of suffrage in the election of his successors, one of which he calls *Cardinal Bishops*, and the other *Cardinal Clerks*. By the former we are manifestly to understand the seven Bishops, who belonged to the city and territory of *Rome*, whom Nicolas calls, in the same edict, *comprovinciales episcopi* (an epithet which had been used before by Leo I.) and who had been distinguished by the title of *Cardinal Bishops* long before the present century. The words of Nicolas confirmed this account of the matter, and place it beyond all possibility of contradiction; for he declares, that by *Cardinal Bishops* he understands those to whom it belonged to consecrate the Pontiff elect; *since the Apostolic See, observes the Papal legislator, cannot be under the jurisdiction of*
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(n) The passage of the edict (which we have here translated from Hugo Floriacus in Baluzii *Miscel.* tom. iv. p. 62.) runs thus in the original: *Constituimus ut, obeunte hujus Romanæ universalis Ecclesiæ Pontifice, imprimis Cardinales Episcopi diligentissima simul consideratione transigentes, mox sibi Clericas Cardinales adhibeant, sicque reliquus Clerus et Populus ad consensum novæ electionis accedant.*

any superior or Metropolitan (o), the Cardinal Bishops must necessarily supply the place of a Metropolitan, and fix the elected Pontiff on the summit of Apostolic exaltation and empire (p). Now it is well known that the seven Bishops of Rome, above-mentioned, had the privilege of consecrating the Roman Pontiff.

ALL these things being duly considered, we shall immediately perceive the true nature and meaning of the famous edict, according to which it is manifest, that, upon the death of a Pontiff, the Cardinal Bishops were the first to deliberate alone concerning a proper successor, and to examine the respective merit of the Candidates that might pretend to this high dignity, and afterwards to call in the Cardinal Clerks, not only to demand their council, but also to join with them in the election. The word *Clerk* here bears the same sense with that of *Presbyter*; and it is undeniably certain that the name of *Cardinal Presbyters* was given to the Ministers of the eight and twenty Roman *Parishes*, or principal Churches. All the rest of the Clergy, of whatever order or rank they might be, were, together with the people, expressly excluded from the right of voting in the election of a Pontiff, though they were allowed what is called a *negative suffrage*, and their

consent

(o) In the consecration of a new Bishop in any province, the Metropolitan always bore the principal part; as therefore there was no Metropolitan to install the Pope, the Cardinal Bishops performed that ceremony.

(p) Such are the swelling and bombastic terms of the edict: *Quia sedes apostolica super se metropolitanum habere non potest; Cardinales episcopi metropolitani vice proculdubio fungantur, qui electum antistitem ad apostolici culminis apicem provebant.*

consent was required to what the others had done. From all which it appears, that the College of electors, who chose the Roman Pontiff, and who after this period were called *Cardinals* in a new and unusual acceptation of that term, consisted according to their original establishment by Nicolas I. of only two orders, namely, *Cardinal Bishops and Cardinal Clerks, or Presbyters*. We may conclude, that the College of *Cardinals*, and the extensive authority and important privileges they enjoy at this day, derive their origin from the edict published at the request and under the Pontificate of Nicolas II. that, under the title of *Cardinals*, this Pontiff comprehends the seven Roman Bishops, who were considered as the *suffragan*, and of whom the Bishop of *Ostia* was the chief, as also the eight and twenty Ministers, who had inspection over the principal Roman Churches; and that to these were added, in process of time, under Alexander III. and other Pontiffs, new members, in order to appease the resentment of those who looked upon themselves as injured by the edict of Nicolas, and also to answer other purposes of ecclesiastical policy. We see, also, from an attentive view of this matter, that though the high order of the purpled Prelates, commonly called *Cardinals*, had its rise in the eleventh century, yet it does not seem to have acquired the stable and undisputed authority of a legal council before the following age and the Pontificate of Alexander III.

THOUGH Nicolas II. had expressly acknowledged and confirmed in his edict the right of the emperor to ratify by his consent the election of the Pontiff; his eyes were no sooner closed,

closed, than the Romans, at the instigation of Hildebrand, Archdeacon, and afterwards Bishop of *Rome*, violated this imperial privilege in the most presumptuous manner. For they not only elected to the Pontificate of Anselm Bishop of *Lucca*, who assumed the name of Alexander II. but also solemnly installed him in that high office without so much as consulting the Emperor Henry IV. or giving him the least information of the matter. Agnes, the mother of the young Emperor, no sooner received an account of this irregular transaction by the Bishops of *Lombardy*, to whom the election of Anselm was extremely disagreeable, than she assembled a council at *Easil*, and, in order to maintain the authority of her son, who was yet a minor, caused Cadolaus, Bishop of *Parma*, to be created Pontiff under the title of Honorius II. Hence arose a long and furious contest between the two rival Pontiffs, who maintained their respective pretensions by the force of arms, and presented a scene of bloodshed and horror in the Church of Christ, which was designed to be the center of charity and peace. In this violent contention Alexander triumphed, though he could never engage his obstinate adversary to desist from his pretensions (q).

THIS contest, indeed, was of little consequence when viewed in comparison with the dreadful commotions which Hildebrand, who succeeded Alexander, and assumed the name of Gregory

(q) Ferdin. Ughelli *Italia Sacra*, tom. ii. p. 166. Jo. Jac. Mascoivius, *de rebus imperii sub Henrico IV. et V.* lib. i. p. 7.—Franc. Pagi, *Breviar. Pontificum Romanor.* tom. ii. p. 383.—Muratori *Annali d'Italia*, tom. vi. p. 214.

Gregory VII. excited both in Church and State, and nourished and fomented until the end of his days. This vehement Pontiff, who was a Tuscan, born of mean parents, rose, by various steps, from the obscure station of a Monk of *Cluni*, to the rank of Archdeacon in the Roman Church, and, from the time of Leo IX. who treated him with peculiar marks of distinction, was accustomed to govern the Roman Pontiffs by his counsels, which had acquired the highest degree of influence and authority. In the year 1730, and the same day that Alexander was interred, he was raised to the Pontificate by the unanimous suffrages of the Cardinals, Bishops, Abbots, Monks, and People, and, consequently, without any regard being paid to the edict of Nicolas II. and his election was confirmed by the approbation and consent of Henry IV. King of the Romans, to whom Embassadors had been sent for that purpose. This Prince, indeed, had soon reason to repent of the consent he had given to an election, which became so prejudicial to his own authority, so fatal to the interest and liberties of the Church, and so detrimental, in general, to the Sovereignty and independence of kingdoms and empires. Hildebrand was a man of uncommon genius, whose ambition in forming the most arduous projects was equalled by his dexterity in bringing them into execution; sagacious, crafty and intrepid, nothing could escape his penetration, defeat his stratagems, or daunt his courage; haughty and arrogant beyond all measure; obstinate, impetuous, and intractable; he looked up to the summit of universal empire with a wishful eye, and laboured up the steep ascent with uninterrupted ardour, and invincible perseverance; void of all principle, and destitute of every pi-

ous and virtuous feeling, he suffered little restraint in his audacious pursuits, from the dictates of religion or the remonstrances of conscience. Such was the character of Hildebrand, and his conduct was every way suitable to it; for no sooner did he find himself in the Papal chair, than he displayed to the world the most odious marks of his tyrannic ambition. Not content to enlarge the jurisdiction and to augment the opulence of the See of *Rome*, he laboured indefatigably to render the universal Church subject to the despotic government and the arbitrary power of the Pontiff alone, to dissolve the jurisdiction which Kings and Emperors had hitherto exercised over the various orders of the Clergy, and to exclude them from all part in the management or distribution of the revenues of the Church. Nay, this outrageous Pontiff went still farther, and impiously attempted to submit to his jurisdiction the Emperors, Kings, and Princes of the earth, and to render their dominions tributary to the See of *Rome*. Such were the *pious* and *apostolic* exploits that employed the activity of Gregory VII. during his whole life, and which rendered his Pontificate a continued scene of tumult and bloodshed.

UNDER the Pontificate of Hildebrand, the face of the Latin Church was entirely changed, its government subverted, and the most important and valuable of those rights and privileges that had been formerly vested in its councils, bishops, and sacred colleges, were usurped by the greedy Pontiff. It is, however, to be observed, that the weight of this tyrannic usurpation did not fall equally upon all the European provinces; several of these provinces preserved some remains
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of their ancient liberty and independence, in the possession of which a variety of circumstances happily concurred to maintain them.

BUT, as we insinuated above, the views of Hildebrand were not confined to the erection of an absolute and universal monarchy in the Church; they aimed also at the establishment of a civil monarchy equally extensive and despotic; and this aspiring Pontiff, after having drawn up a system of Ecclesiastical Canons for the government of the Church, would have introduced also a new code of political laws, had he been permitted to execute the plan he had formed. His purpose was to engage in the bonds of fidelity and allegiance to St. Peter, i. e. to the Roman Pontiffs, all the Kings and Princes of the earth, and to establish at *Rome* an annual assembly of Bishops, by whom the contests that might arise between kingdoms or sovereign states were to be decided, the rights and pretensions of princes to be examined, and the fate of nations and empires to be determined. This ambitious project met, however, with the warmest opposition, particularly from the vigilance and resolution of the Emperors, and also from the British and French Monarchs (r).

THAT Hildebrand laid this audacious plan is undoubtedly evident, both from his own epistles and also from other authentic records of antiquity. The nature of the oath which he

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drew

(r) The long note (g) in the original which contains the ambitious exploits of Hildebrand, is inserted in the following paragraph, except the citations, which are thrown into notes.

drew up for the King or Emperor of the Romans, for whom he demanded a profession of subjection and allegiance (s), shews abundantly the arrogance of his pretensions. But his conduct towards the kingdom of *France* is worthy of particular notice. It is well known, that whatever dignity and dominion the Popes enjoyed was originally derived from the kingdom of *France*, or, which is the same thing, from the Princes of that nation; and yet Hildebrand, or (as we shall hereafter entitle him) Gregory VII. pretended that the kingdom of *France* was tributary to the See of *Rome*, and commanded his legates to demand yearly, in the most solemn manner, the payment of that tribute (t); their demands, however, were treated with contempt, and the tribute was never either acknowledged or offered. Nothing can be more insolent than the language in which Gregory addressed himself to Philip I. King of *France*, to whom he recommends an humble and obliging carriage, from this consideration that both his *kingdom* and

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(s) See the ninth book of his Epistles, Epist. iii. the form of the oath runs thus: *Ab hac hora et deinceps fidelis ero per rectam fidem B. Petro Apostolo, ejusque vicario Papæ Gregorio . . . et quod unque ipse Papa præceperit sub his videlicet verbis: Per veram obedientiam, fideliter, sicut oportet Christianum, observabo. Et en dic, quando eum primus videro, fideliter per manus meas miles sancti Petri et Illius efficiet.* What is this else than a formal oath of allegiance?

(t) Epist. lib. viii. ep. xxiii. in Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. vi. p. 1476. *Dicendum autem est omnibus Gallis et per veram obedientiam præcipiendum, ut unaquæque domus saltem unum denarium annuatim solvat Beato Petro, si eum recognoscant patrem et pastorem suum more antiquo.* Every one knows that the demand that was made with the form, *per veram obedientiam*, was supposed to oblige indispensably.

his soul were under the dominion of St. Peter, (i. e. his Vicar the Roman Pontiff) who had the power to bind and to loose him, both in Heaven and upon earth (u). Nothing escaped the all-grasping ambition of Gregory; he pretended that Saxony was a feudal tenure held in subjection to the See of Rome, to which it had been formerly yielded by Charlemagne as a pious offering to St. Peter. He extended also his pretensions to the kingdom of Spain, maintaining in one of his letters (w), that it was the property of the Apostolic See from the earliest times of the Church, yet acknowledged in another (x), that the transaction by which the successors of St. Peter had acquired this property had been lost among other ancient records. The despotic views of this lordly Pontiff were attended with less success in England, than in any other country. William the Conqueror was a Prince of great spirit and resolution, extremely jealous of his rights, and tenacious of the prerogatives he enjoyed as a Sovereign and independent Monarch; and accordingly, when Gregory wrote him a letter demanding the arrears of the *Peter-pence* (y), and at the same time summoned

(u) Lib. vii. Epist. xx. in Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. vi. p. 1468: *Maxime enitere ut B. Petrum, in cujus potestate est regnum tuum et anima tua, qui te potest in calo et in terra ligare et absolvere, tibi facias debitorem.*

(w) Lib. x. ep. vii. *Regnum Hispaniæ ab antiquo proprii juris S. Petri Suisse et Soli Apostolicæ Sedi ex æquo pertinere.*

(x) Lib. x. Epist. xxviii.

(y) *Peter-pence* (so called from its being collected on the festival of St. Peter in Vinculis) was an ancient tax of a penny on each house, first granted in the year 725, by Ina, King of the West-Saxons, for the establishment and support of an English College

summoned him to do homage for the kingdom of *England* as a fief of the Apostolic See, William granted the former, but refused the latter (z) with a noble obstinacy, declaring that he held his kingdom of God only and his own sword. Obligated to yield to the obstinacy of the English Monarch, whose name struck terror into the boldest hearts, the restless Pontiff addressed his imperious mandates where he imagined they would be received with more facility.

DEMETRIUS Suinimer, Duke of *Croatia* and *Dalmatia*, was raised to the rank and prerogatives of royalty by this Pontiff in the year 1076, and solemnly proclaimed King by his legate at *Salona*, upon condition that he should pay an annual tribute of two hundred pieces of gold to St. Peter at every Easter festival (a). This bold step was injurious to the authority

College at *Rome*, and afterwards extended in the year 794, by Offa, over all *Mercia* and *East-Anglia*. In process of time, it became a standing and general tax throughout all *England*, and, though it was for some time applied to the support of the English College according to its original design, the Popes found means to appropriate it to themselves. It was confirmed by the laws of Canute, Edward the confessor, William the Conqueror, &c. and was never totally abolished till the reign of Henry VIII.

(z) The letter of William is extant in the *Miscellanea* of Balthusius, tom. vii. p. 127, as also in Collier's *Ecclesiastical History* in the collection of records, at the end of the first volume, p. 713. No. 12. *Hubertus legatus tuus* (says the resolute Monarch to the audacious Pontiff) *admonuit me, quatenus tibi et successoribus tuis fidelitatem facerem et de pecunia*, quam antecessores mei ad ecclesiam mittere solebant melius cogitarem. Unum admisi, alterum non admisi. Fidelitatem Facere, Nolui, nec Volo, &c.

(a) Sec Du Mont, *Corps Diplomatique*, tom. i. part I. n. 88. p. 53.—Jo. Lucius, *De regno Dalmatiæ*, lib. ii. p. 85.

rity of the Emperors of *Constantinople*, who, before this time, comprehended the Province of *Croatia* within the limits of their Sovereignty. The kingdom of *Poland* became also the object of Gregory's ambition, and a favourable occasion was offered for the execution of his iniquitous views; for Basilaus II. having assassinated Stanislaus Bishop of *Cracow*, the Pontiff not only excommunicated him with all the circumstances of infamy that he could invent, but also pulled him from his throne, dissolved the oath of allegiance which his subjects had taken, and, by an express and imperious edict, prohibited the nobles and Clergy of *Poland* from electing a new King without the consent of the Roman Pontiff (b). Many more examples might be alledged of the phrenetic ambition of Gregory, but those which have been already mentioned are sufficient to excite the indignation of every impartial reader. Had the success of that Pontiff been equal to the extent of his insolent views, all the kingdoms of *Europe* would have been this day tributary to the Roman See, and its Princes the soldiers or vassals of St. Peter, in the person of his pretended Vicar upon earth. But though his most important projects were ineffectual, yet many of his attempts were crowned with a favourable issue; for from the time of his Pontificate the face of *Europe* underwent a considerable change, and the prerogatives of the Emperors and other Sovereign Princes, were much diminished. It was, particularly, under the administration of Gregory, that the Emperors were deprived of the privilege of ratifying, by their consent, the election of the Roman Pontiff, a privilege of no final!

(b) See Dlugoski Histor. Polon. tom. i. p. 295.

small importance, and which as yet they have never recovered.

THE plan that Gregory had formed for raising the Church above all human authority, to a state of perfect supremacy and independence, had many kinds of opposition to encounter, but none more unfurmountable than that which arose from the two reigning vices of *concubinage* and *Simony*, that had infected the whole body of the European Clergy. The Roman Pontiffs, from the time of Stephen IX. had combated, with zeal and vehemence these monstrous vices (c), but without

success,

(c) *Monstrous vices* we may justly call them. For though it be true, that in the methods Gregory took to extirpate these vices, he violated not only the laws of religion, but also the dictates of natural equity and justice, and, under the mask of a pious zeal, committed the most crying and abominable enormities; yet it is certain, on the other hand, that these vices produced the most unhappy effects both in Church and State, and that the suppression of them was now become absolutely necessary. There were indeed, among the Clergy, several men of piety and virtue, who lived in the bonds of wedlock, and these Gregory ought to have spared. But there was also a prodigious number of ecclesiastics throughout *Europe*, not only of Priests and Canons, but also of Monks, who lived in the bonds of a criminal love, kept under the title of wives, mistresses which they dismissed at pleasure, to enjoy the sweets of a licentious variety, and who not only spent, in the most profuse and scandalous manner, the revenues and treasures of the Churches and Convents to which they belonged, but even distributed a great part of them among their bastards. As to the vice of *Simony*, its universal extent and its pernicious fruits appear evidently from those records, which the Benedictine Monks have published in several places of their *Gallia Christiana*, not to mention a multitude of other ancient papers to the same purpose.

success, as they were become too inveterate and too universal to be extirpated without the greatest difficulty and the most extraordinary efforts. Accordingly Gregory, in the year 1074, which was the second of his Pontificate, exerted himself with much more vigour than his predecessors had done in opposition to the vices already mentioned. For this purpose he assembled a council at *Rome*, in which all the laws of the former Pontiffs against *Simony* were renewed and confirmed, and the buying and selling ecclesiastical benefices prohibited in the strictest and severest manner.

THESE decrees, which were in part equitable and just, and which were, in every respect, conformable with the notions of religion that prevailed in this age, were looked upon by the people as highly salutary, since they rendered a free election, and not a mercenary purchase, and obliged the Priests to abstain from marriage, which was absurdly considered as inconsistent with the sanctity of their office. Yet both these decrees were attended with the most deplorable tumults and dissensions, and were fruitful, in their consequences, of innumerable calamities. No sooner was the law concerning the *Celibacy of the Clergy* published, than the Priests, in the several Provinces of *Europe*, who lived in the bonds of marriage with lawful wives, or of lasciviousness with hired concubines (d), complained loudly of the severity of this council,

(d) All the historians, who give any accounts of this century, mention the tumults excited by such Priests, as were resolved to continue with their wives or concubines. For an account of the seditions

cil, and excited the most dreadful tumults in the greatest part of the European Provinces. This vehement contest was gradually calmed through length of time, and also by the perseverance of the obstinate Pontiff; nor did any of the European Kings and Princes concern themselves so much about the marriages of the Clergy as to maintain their cause, and thereby to prolong the controversy. But the troubles that arose from the law that regarded the extirpation of *Simony* were not so easily appeased; the tumults it occasioned grew greater from day to day; the methods of reconciliation more difficult; and it involved both State and Church during several years in the deepest calamities, and in the most complicated scenes of confusion and distress. Henry IV. received, indeed, graciously the legates of Gregory, and applauded his zeal for the extirpation of *Simony*; but neither this Prince, nor the German Bishops, would permit these legates to assemble a council in *Germany*, or to proceed judicially against those, who, in time past, had been charged with Simoniackal practices. The Pontiff, exasperated at this restraint in the execution of his designs, called another council to meet at *Rome* in the year 1075, in which he pursued his adventurous project with greater impetuosity and vehemence than ever; for he not only excluded from the communion of the Church several German and Italian Bishops and certain favourites of Henry, whose counsels that Prince was said to make use of in the traffic of ecclesiastical

seditions which arose in *Germany* upon this occasion, see Sigonius *De regno Italia*, lib. ix. p. 557 tom. ii. as also Teugnagel's *Collectio Vetus. Monument.* p. 45, 47, 54. Those that the Priests excited in England are mentioned by M. Paris, in his *Hist. Major*, lib. i. p. 7.

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cal dignities, but also pronounced, in a formal edict, *Anathema* against whoever received the investiture of a Bishopric or Abbacy from the hands of a Layman, as also against those by whom the investiture should be performed. (c) This decree was every way proper to surprize the Emperors, Kings, and Princes of *Europe*, who, in consequence of a prevailing custom, had the right of conferring the more important ecclesiastical dignities, and the government of Monasteries and Convents, of which they disposed, in a solemn manner, by the well-known ceremony of the *ring* and the *staff*, or *crozier*, which they presented to the candidate on whom their choice fell. This solemn investiture was the main support of that power of creating Bishops and Abbots, which the European Princes claimed as their undoubted right, and the occasion of that corrupt commerce called *Simony*, in consequence of which ecclesiastical promotion was impudently sold to the highest bidder; and hence the zeal and ardour of Gregory to annul these investitures, that he might extirpate *Simony* on the one hand, and diminish the power of Princes in ecclesiastical matters on the other. It is highly uncertain by what Prince this custom of creating the Bishops by the ceremonies of the *ring* and *crozier* was first introduced. If we may believe Adam of *Bremen*, this privilege was exercised by Lewis the Meek, who, in the ninth century, granted to the new Bishops the use and possession of the episcopal revenues, and confirmed this grant by the ceremony above-mentioned.

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(c) Ant. Pagi *Critica in Baronium*, tom. iii. ad A. 1075.—
Hen. Norris *Hist. Investiturarum*, p. 35.—Chrif. Lupus, *Scholia et dissertation. ad Concilia*, tom. vi. opp. p. 32—44.

THE severe law that had been enacted against *investitures*, by the influence and attention of Gregory, made very little impression upon Henry. He acknowledged, indeed, that in exposing ecclesiastical benefices to sale he had done amiss, and he promised amendment in that respect; but he remained inflexible against all attempts that were made to persuade him to resign his power of creating Bishops and Abbots, and the right of *investiture* which was intimately connected with this important privilege. Had this Emperor been seconded by the German Princes, he might have maintained this refusal with dignity and success, but this was far from being the case; a considerable number of these Princes, and among others the states of *Saxony*, were the secret or declared enemies of Henry; and this furnished Gregory with a favourable opportunity of extending his authority and executing his ambitious projects. This opportunity was by no means neglected; the imperious Pontiff took occasion, from the discords that divided the empire, to insult and depress its chief; he sent, by his legates, an insolent message to the Emperor at *Goslar*, ordering him to repair immediately to *Rome*, and clear himself, before the council that was to be assembled there, of the various crimes that were laid to his charge. The Emperor, whose high spirit could not brook such arrogant treatment, was filled with the warmest indignation at the view of that insolent mandate, and, in the vehemence of his just resentment, assembled without delay a council of German Bishops at *Worms*, where Gregory was charged with several flagitious practices, deposed from the Pontificate, of which he was declared unworthy, and an order issued out for the election of a new Pontiff. Gregory opposed violence

violence to violence; for no sooner had he received, by the letters and Ambassadors of Henry, on account of the sentence that had been pronounced against him, than, in a raging fit of vindictive frenzy, he thundered his anathemas at the head of that Prince, excluded him both from the communion of the Church and from the throne of his ancestors, and impiously dissolved the oath of allegiance which his subjects had taken to him as their lawful Sovereign. Thus war was declared on both sides, and the civil and ecclesiastical powers were divided into two great factions, of which one maintained the rights of the Emperor, while the other seconded the ambitious views of the Pontiff. No terms are sufficient to express the complicated scenes of misery that arose from this deplorable schism.

At the entrance upon this war, the Swabian chiefs, with Duke Rodolph at their head, revolted against Henry; and the Saxon Princes, whose former quarrels with the Emperor had been lately terminated by their defeat and submission (f), followed their example. These united powers, being solicited by the Pope to elect a new Emperor, in case Henry persisted in his obstinate disobedience to the orders of the Church, met at *Tribur* in the year 1076, to take counsel together concerning a matter of such high importance. The result of their deliberations

(f) This same Rodolph had, the year before this revolt, vanquished the Saxons, and obliged them to submit to the Emperor. Besides, the Swabian and Saxon chiefs, the Dukes of *Bavaria* and *Carinthia*, the Bishops of *Wurtzburg* and *Worms*, and several other eminent personages were concerned in this revolt.

liberations was far from being favourable to the Emperor ; for they agreed, that the determination of the controversy between him and them should be referred to the Roman Pontiff, who was to be invited for that purpose to a congress at *Augsburgh* the year following, and that, in the mean time, Henry should be suspended from the royal dignity, and live in the obscurity of a private station ; to which rigorous conditions they also added, that he was to forfeit his kingdom, if, within the space of a year, he was not restored to the bosom of the Church, and delivered from the anathema that lay upon his head. When things were come to this desperate extremity, and the faction, which was formed against this unfortunate Prince, grew more formidable from day to day, his friends advised him to go into *Italy*, and implore in person the clemency of the Pontiff. The Emperor yielded to this ignominious counsel, without, however, obtaining from his voyage the advantages he expected. He passed the *Alps* amidst the rigour of a severe winter, arrived, in the month of *February* 1077, at the fortress of *Canusium*, where the *Sanctimonious* Pontiff resided at that time with the young *Matilda*, Countess of *Tuscany*, the most powerful patroness of the Church, and the most tender and affectionate of all the spiritual daughters of Gregory. Here the suppliant Prince, unmindful of his dignity, stood, during three days, in the open air at the entrance of this fortress, with his feet bare, his head uncovered, and with no other raiment but a wretched piece of coarse woollen cloth thrown over his body to cover his nakedness. The fourth day he was admitted to the presence of the lordly Pontiff, who, with a good deal of difficulty, granted him the absolution he demanded ;

ed; but, as to what regarded his restoration to the throne, he refused to determine that point before the approaching congress, at which he made Henry promise to appear, forbidding him, at the same time, to assume, during this interval, the title of King, as also to wear the ornaments, or to exercise the functions, of royalty. This opprobrious convention excited, and that justly, the indignation of the Princes and Bishops of *Italy*, who threatened Henry with all sorts of evils, on account of his base and pusillanimous conduct, and would undoubtedly, have deposed him, had not he diminished their resentment by violating the convention which he had been forced to enter into with the imperious Pontiff, and resuming the title and other marks of royalty which he had been obliged to lay down. On the other hand, the confederate Princes of *Swabia* and *Saxony* were no sooner informed of this unexpected change in the conduct of Henry, than they assembled at *Forcheim* in the month of *March* A. D. 1077, and unanimously elected Rodolph, Duke of *Swabia*, Emperor in his place (g).

THIS rash step kindled a terrible flame in *Germany* and *Italy*, and involved, for a long time, those unhappy lands in the

(g) The ancient and modern writers of Italian and German history have given ample relations of all these events, though not all with the same fidelity and accuracy. In this brief account I have given of these events, I have followed the genuine sources, and those writers whose testimonies are the most respectable and sure, such as Sigonius, Pagi, Muratori, Mascovius, Norris, &c. who, though they differ in some minute circumstances, are yet agreed in those matters that are of the most importance.

the calamities of a war. In *Italy* the Normans, who were masters of the lower parts of that country, and the armies of the powerful and valiant Matilda, maintained successfully the cause of Gregory against the Lombards, who espoused the interests of Henry; while this unfortunate Prince, with all the forces he could assemble, carried on the war in *Germany* against Rodolph and the confederate Princes. Gregory, considering the events of war as extremely doubtful, was at first afraid to declare for either side, and therefore observed, during a certain time, an appearance of neutrality; but encouraged by the battle of *Fludenheim*, in which Henry was defeated by the Saxons A. D. 1080, he excommunicated anew that vanquished Prince, and sending a crown to the victor Rodolph, declared him lawful King of the Germans. The injured Emperor did not let this new insult pass unpunished; seconded by the suffrages of several of the Italian and German Bishops, he deposed Gregory a second time in a council which met at *Mentz*, and, in a Synod that was soon after assembled at *Brixen*, in the Province of *Tirol*, he raised to the Pontificate Guibert, Archbishop of *Ravenna*, who assumed the title of Clement III. when he was consecrated at *Rome* A. D. 1084, four years after his election.

THIS election was followed soon after by an event which gave an advantageous turn to the affairs of Henry; this event was a bloody battle fought upon the banks of the river *Ebfler*, where Rodolph received a mortal wound, of which he died at *Merflurgh*. The Emperor, having got rid of this formidable enemy,

enemy, marched directly into *Italy* the following year (1081) with a design to crush Gregory and his adherents, whose defeat he imagined would contribute effectually to put an end to the troubles in *Germany*. Accordingly he made several campaigns, with various success, against the valiant troops of Matilda; and, after having raised twice the siege of *Rome*, he resumed a third time that bold enterprize, and became, at length, master of the greatest part of that city in the year 1084. The first step that Henry took after this success was to place Guibert in the Papal chair, after which he received the imperial crown from the hands of the new Pontiff, was saluted Emperor by the Roman people, and laid close siege to the castle of *St. Angelo*, whether his mortal enemy Gregory, had fled for safety. He was, however, forced to raise this siege, by the valour of Robert Guiscard, Duke of *Apulia* and *Calabria*, who brought Gregory in triumph to *Rome*; but, not thinking him safe there, conducted him afterwards to *Salerum*. In this place the famous Pontiff ended his days the year following, A. D. 1085, and left *Europe* involved in those calamities which were the fatal effects of his boundless ambition. He was certainly a man of extensive abilities, endowed with a most enterprising genius, and an invincible firmness of mind; but it must, at the same time, be acknowledged, that he was the most arrogant and audacious Pontiff that had hitherto sat in the Papal chair. The Roman Church worships him as a Saint, though it is certain that he was never placed in that order by a regular canonization. Paul V. about the beginning of the seventeenth century, appointed the twenty-fifth day of *May*, as a festival sacred to the memory of this pretended Saint;

(i); but the Emperors of *Germany*, the Kings of *France*, and other European Princes, have always opposed the celebration of this festival, and have thus effectually prevented its becoming universal.

THE death of Gregory neither restored peace to the Church, nor tranquillity to the State; the tumults and divisions which he had excited, still continued, and they were augmented from day to day by the same passions to which they owed their origin. Clement III. who was the Emperor's Pontiff, was master of the city of *Rome*, and was acknowledged as Pope by a great part of *Italy*. Henry carried on the war in *Germany* against the confederate Princes. The faction of Gregory, supported by the Normans, chose for his successor, in the year 1086, Diderick, Abbot of Mount *Cassin*, who adopted the title of Victor III. and was consecrated in the Church of *St. Peter*, in the year 1087, when that part of the city was recovered by the Normans from the dominion of Clement. But this new Pontiff was of a character quite opposite to that of Gregory; he was modest and timorous, and also of a mild gentle disposition; and finding the Papal chair beset with factions, and the city of *Rome* under the dominion of his competitor, he retired to his Monastery, where soon after he ended his days in peace. But, before his abdication, he held a council at *Benevento*, where he confirmed and renewed the laws that Gregory had enacted for the abolition of *investitures*.

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(i) See the *Acta Sanctor. Antwerp.* ad. d. xxv Maii, & Jo. Mabillon, *Acta Sanct. Ord. Benedict.* sæc. vi. part II.

OTHO, Bishop of *Ostia*, and Monk of *Clugni*, was by Victor's recommendation, chosen to succeed him. This new Pontiff was elected at *Terracina* in the year 1088, and assumed the name of Urban II. Inferior to Gregory in fortitude and resolution, he was, however, his equal in arrogance and pride, and surpassed him greatly in temerity and imprudence. The commencement of his Pontificate had a fair aspect, and success seemed to smile upon his undertakings; but upon the Emperor's return into *Italy* in the year 1090, the face of affairs was totally changed; victory crowned the arms of that Prince, who, by redoubled efforts of valour, defeated, at length, Guelph, Duke of *Bavaria*, and the famous Mathilda, who were the formidable heads of the Papal faction. The abominable treachery of his son Conrad, who, yielding to the seduction of his father's enemies, revolted against him, and, by the advice and assistance of Urban and Mathilda, usurped the kingdom of *Italy*, revived the drooping spirits of that faction, who hoped to see the laurels of the Emperor blasted by this odious and unnatural rebellion. The consequences, however, of this event were less fatal to Henry, than his enemies expected. In the mean time the troubles of *Italy* still continued, nor could Urban, with all his efforts, reduce the city of *Rome* under his lordly yoke. Finding all his ambitious measures disconcerted, he assembled a council at *Placentia* in the year 1095, where he confirmed the laws and the anathemas of Gregory; and afterwards undertook a journey into *France*, where he held the famous council of *Clermont*, and had the pleasure of kindling a new war against the infidel possessors of the holy land. In this council, instead of endeavouring to terminate the tumults

and desolations that the dispute concerning *investitures* had already produced, this unworthy Pontiff added fuel to the flame, and so exasperated matters by his imprudent and arrogant proceedings, as to render an accommodation between the contending parties more difficult than ever. Gregory, notwithstanding his insolence and ambition, had never carried matters so far as to forbid the Bishops and the rest of the Clergy to take the oath of allegiance to their respective Sovereigns. This rebellious prohibition was reserved for the audacious arrogance of Urban, who published it as a law, in the council of *Clermont*. (k) After this noble expedition, the restless Pontiff returned into *Italy*, where he made himself master of the castle of *St. Angelo*, and soon after ended his days in the year 1099; he was not long survived by his antagonist Clement III. who died the following year, and thus left Raynier, a Benedictine Monk, who was chosen successor to Urban, and assumed the name of Paschal II. sole possessor of the Papal chair at the conclusion of this century.

(k) To the fifteenth Canon of this council the following words were added: *Ne episcopus vel sacerdos regi vel alicui laico in manibus legiam fidelitatem faciant, i. e. It is enacted that no Bishop or Priest shall promise upon oath liege obedience to any King or any Layman.* They are entirely mistaken who affirm that Gregory prohibited the Bishops from taking oaths of allegiance to their respective Sovereigns, as Cardinal Noris has sufficiently demonstrated in his *Istoria della Investiture*, chap. x. p. 279.

C H A P. III.

Concerning the Doctrine of the Church in the Eleventh Century.

IT is not necessary to draw at full length the hideous portrait of the religion of this age. It may easily be imagined, that its features were full of deformity, when we consider that its guardians were equally destitute of knowledge and virtue, and that the heads and rulers of the Christian Church, instead of exhibiting models of piety, held forth in their conduct scandalous examples of the most flagitious crimes. The people were sunk in the grossest superstition, and employed all their zeal in the worship of images and relics, and in the performance of a trifling round of ceremonies, which were imposed upon them by the tyranny of a despotic Priesthood. The more learned, 'tis true, retained still some notions of the truth, which, however, they obscured and corrupted by a wretched mixture of opinions and precepts, of which some were ludicrous, others pernicious, and the most of them equally destitute of truth and utility. There were, no doubt, in several places, judicious and pious men, who would have willingly lent a supporting hand to the declining cause of true religion; but the violent prejudices of a barbarous age rendered all such attempts not only dangerous, but even desperate; and those chosen spirits, who had escaped the general contagion, lay too much concealed, and had therefore too little influence to combat

bat, with success, the formidable patrons of impiety and superstition, who were extremely numerous, in all ranks and orders, from the throne to the cottage.

NOTWITHSTANDING all this, we find from the time of Gregory VII. several proofs of the zealous efforts of those, who are generally called, by the Protestants, the *witnesses of the truth*; by whom are meant, such pious and judicious Christians, as adhered to the pure religion of the Gospel, and retained it uncorrupted amidst the growth of superstition; who deplored the miserable state to which Christianity was reduced, by the alteration of its divine doctrines, and the vices of its profligate Ministers; who opposed, with vigour, the tyrannic ambition both of the lordly Pontiff and the aspiring Bishops; and in some Provinces privately, and in others openly, attempted the reformation of a corrupt and idolatrous Church, and of a barbarous and superstitious age. This was, indeed, bearing witness to the truth in the noblest manner, and it was principally in *Italy* and *France* that the marks of this heroic piety were exhibited. [Nor is it at all surprizing, that the reigning superstition of the times met with this opposition; it is astonishing, on the contrary, that this opposition was not much greater and more universal, and that millions of Christians suffered themselves to be hood-winked with such a tame submission, and closed their eyes upon the light with so little reluctance.] For notwithstanding the darkness of the times, and the general ignorance of the true religion that prevailed in all ranks and orders, yet the very fragments of the Gospel (if we may use that term) which were still read and explained

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to the people, were sufficient, at least, to convince the most stupid and illiterate, that the religion, which was now imposed upon them, was not the true religion of Jesus; that the discourses, the lives and morals of the Clergy were directly opposite to what the divine Saviour required of his Disciples, and to the rules he had laid down for the direction of their conduct; that the Pontiffs and Bishops abused, in a scandalous manner, their power and opulence; and that the favour of God, and the salvation exhibited in his blessed Gospel, were not to be obtained by performing a round of external ceremonies, by pompous donations to Churches and Priests, or by founding and enriching Monasteries, but by real sanctity of heart and manners.

CHAP. IV.

Concerning the Rites and Ceremonies used in the Church during the Eleventh Century.

THE form of public worship, which was established at Rome, had not, as yet, been universally received in the Western Provinces. This was looked upon by the Imperial Pontiffs as an insult upon their authority, and therefore they used their utmost efforts to introduce the Roman ceremonies every where, and to promote a perfect uniformity of worship in every part of the Latin world. Gregory VII. employed all his diligence, activity, and zeal in this enterprize, as appears from several passages in his letters, and he perhaps alone was equal to the execution of such an arduous attempt. The Spaniards had long distinguished themselves above all other nations by the noble and resolute resistance they made to the despotic attempts of the Popes upon this occasion; for they adhered to their ancient Gothic liturgy (1) with the utmost obstinacy, and could not be brought to change it for the method of worship established at Rome. Alexander II. had indeed proceeded so far, in the year 1068, as to persuade the inhabitants of Arragon into his measures (m), and to conquer the aversion which the

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(1) See Mabillon, *De Liturgia Gallicana*, lib. i. cap. ii. p. 10.—Jo. Bona, *Rerum Liturgicarum*, lib. i. cap. xi. p. 220. opp.—Petr. Le Brun, *Explication des Ceremonies de la Messe*, tom. ii. *Diss.* v. p. 272.

(m) Petr. De Marca, *Histoire de Bearn*, liv. ii. cap. ix.

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Catalonians had discovered for the Roman worship. But the honour of finishing this difficult work, and bringing it to perfection, was reserved for Gregory VII. who, without interruption, exhorted, threatened, admonished, and intreated Sancius and Alphonso, the Kings of *Aragon* and *Castile*, until, fatigued with the importunity of this restless Pontiff, they consented to abolish the Gothic service in their Churches, and to introduce the Roman in its place. Sancius was the first, who complied with the request of the Pontiff, and, in the year 1080, his example was followed by Alphonso. The methods which the nobles of *Castile* employed to decide the matter were very extraordinary. First, they chose two champions, who were to determine the controversy by single combat, the one fighting for the Roman liturgy, the other for the Gothic. This first trial ended in favour of the latter; for the Gothic hero proved victorious. The fiery trial was next made use of to terminate the dispute; the Roman and Gothic liturgies were committed to the flames, which, as the story goes, consumed the former, while the latter remained unblemished and intire. Thus were the Gothic rites crowned with a double victory, which, however, was not sufficient to maintain them against the authority of the Pope, and the influence of the Queen Constantia, who determined Alphonso in favour of the Roman service.

THE zeal of the Roman Pontiffs for introducing an uniformity of worship into the Western Churches may be, in some measure, justified; but their not permitting every nation to celebrate divine worship in their mother tongue was absolute-

ly inexcusable. While indeed, the Latin language was in general use among the Western nations, or, at least, was unknown to but a very small number, there was no reason why it should not be employed in the public service of the Church. But when the decline of the Roman empire drew on by degrees the extinction of its language in several places, and its decay in all the Western Provinces, it became just and reasonable that each people should serve the deity in the language they understood, and which was peculiar to them. This reasoning, however evident and striking, had no sort of influence upon the Roman Pontiffs, who, neither in this nor in the following centuries, could be persuaded to change the established custom, but persisted, on the contrary, with the most senseless obstinacy, in retaining the use of the Latin language in the celebration of divine worship, even when it was no longer understood by the people. (n) This strange conduct has been variously accounted for by different writers, who have tortured their inventions to find out its secret reasons, and have imagined many that seem extremely improbable and far fetched.

It would be tedious to enumerate in a circumstantial manner the new inventions that were imposed upon christians, in this century, under the specious titles of piety and zeal, by the superstitious despotism of an imperious clergy. It would be also endless to mention the additions that were made to
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(n) Ussorius, *Historia Dogmatica de Scripturis et Sacris Vernaculis* ab Hen. Whartono edita et aucta, Londini 1690, in 4to.

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former inventions, the multiplication, for example, of the rites and ceremonies that were used in the worship of saints, relics and images, and the new directions that were administered to such as undertook pilgrimages, or other superstitious services of that nature. We shall only observe, that, during the whole of this century, all the European nations were most diligently employed in rebuilding, repairing, and adorning their churches. (o) Nor will this appear surprising when we consider, that, in the preceding century, all *Europe* was alarmed with a dismal apprehension that the *day of judgment* was at hand, and that the world was approaching to its final dissolution; for, among the other effects of this panic terror, the churches and monasteries were suffered to fall into ruin, or at least to remain without repair, from a notion that they would soon be involved in the general fate of all sublunary things. But when these apprehensions were removed, things immediately put on a new face; the tottering temples were rebuilt, and the greatest zeal, attended with the richest and most liberal donations, was employed in restoring the sacred edifices to their former lustre, or rather in giving them new degrees of magnificence and beauty.

(o) Glaber Rodolphus, *Hist.* lib. iii, cap. iv. in Duchesne's *Scriptor. Franc.* tom. iv. p. 217. *Infra millesimum tertio jam fere imminente anno contigit in universo pæne terrarum orbe, præcipue tamen in Italia et in Galliis, innovari Ecclesiarum basilicas.*

END OF THE FIFTH PART.

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AN
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THE
TWELFTH CENTURY.

PART I.

THE
EXTERNAL HISTORY

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CHURCH.

CHAP. I.

*Concerning the Prosperous Events that happened to the
Church during this Century.*

A CONSIDERABLE part of *Europe* lay yet involved in Pagan darkness, which reigned more especially in the Northern Provinces. It was, therefore, in these regions

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of gloomy superstition, that the zeal of the missionaries was principally exerted in this century ; though their efforts were not all equally successful, nor the methods they employed for the propagation of the gospel equally prudent. Boleslaus, Duke of *Poland*, having conquered the Pomeranians, offered them peace upon condition that they would receive the Christian doctors, and permit them to exercise their ministry in that vanquished province. This condition was accepted, and Otho, Bishop of *Bamberg*, a man of eminent piety and zeal, was sent, in the year 1124, to inculcate and explain the doctrines of Christianity among that superstitious and barbarous people. Many were converted to the faith by his ministry, while great numbers stood firm against his most vigorous efforts, and persisted with an invincible obstinacy in the religion of their idolatrous ancestors. Nor was this the only mortification which that illustrious Prelate received in the execution of his pious enterprize ; for, upon his return into *Germany*, many of those, whom he had engaged in the profession of Christianity, apostatized in his absence, and relapsed into their ancient prejudices ; this obliged Otho to undertake a second voyage into *Pomerania*, A. D. 1126, in which, after much opposition and difficulty, his labours were crowned with a happier issue, and contributed much to enlarge the bounds of the rising Church, and to establish it upon solid foundations. (p)

From

(p) See Henr. Canisii *Lectiones Antiquæ*, tom. iii. part II. p. 24. where we find the life of Otho, who, A. D. 1189, was canonised by Clement III. See the *Acta Sanctor. mensis Julii*, tom. i. p. 349. Dan. Crameri *Chronicon Eccles. Pomerania*, lib. i. as also a learned *dissertation* concerning the conversion of the

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From this period the Christian Religion seemed to acquire daily new degrees of stability among the Pomeranians, who could not be persuaded hitherto to permit the settlement of a Bishop among them. They now received Adelbert, or Albert, in that character, who was accordingly the first Bishop of Pomerania. Of all the Northern Provinces in this century, none appeared with a more distinguished lustre than Waldemar I. King of *Denmark*, who acquired an immortal name by the glorious battles he fought against the Pagan nations, such as the Slavonians, Venedi, Vandals, and others, who, either by their incursions or their revolt, drew upon them the weight of his victorious arm. He unsheathed his sword not only for the defence and happiness of his people, but also for the propagation and advancement of Christianity; and wherever his arms were successful, he pulled down the temples and images of the Gods, destroyed their altars, laid waste their sacred groves, and substituted in their place the Christian worship, which deserved to be propagated by better means than the sword, by the authority of reason rather than by the despotic voice of power. The island of *Rugen*, which lies in the neighbourhood of *Pomerania*, submitted to the victorious arms of Waldemar, A. D. 1168; and its fierce and savage inhabitants, who were, in reality, no more than a band of robbers and pirates, were obliged, by that Prince, to hear

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Pomeranians by the ministry of Otho, written in the German language by Christopher Schotgen, and published at *Stargard*, in the year 1724. Add to these, Mabillon, *Annal. Benedic.* tom. vi. p. 123, 146, 323.

the instructions of the pious and learned doctors that followed his army, and to receive the Christian worship. This salutary work was brought to perfection by Absalom, Archbishop of *Lunden*, a man of a superior genius, and of a most excellent character in every respect, whose eminent merit raised him to the summit of power, and engaged Waldemar to place him at the head of affairs. (q) The Finlanders received the gospel in the same manner in which it had been propagated among the inhabitants of the isle of *Rugen*. They were also a fierce and savage people, who lived by plunder, and infested *Sweden* in a terrible manner by their perpetual incursions, until, after many bloody battles, they were totally defeated by Eric IX. and were, in consequence thereof, reduced under the Swedish yoke. Historians differ about the precise

time

(q) Saxo Grammaticus, *Histor. Danic.* lib. xiv. p. 239. Hilmodus, *Chron. Sclavorum*, lib. ii. cap. xii. p. 234. and Henr. Bangertus, *ad. l. l.* Pontoppidani *Annales Ecclesie Danica*, tom. i. p. 424.

Besides the historians here mentioned by Dr. Mosheim, we refer the curious reader to an excellent history of *Denmark*, written in French by M. Mallet, professor at *Copenhagen*. In the first volume of this history, the ingenious and learned author has given a very interesting account of the progress of Christianity in the Northern parts of *Europe*, and a particular relation of the exploits of Absalom, who was, at the same time, Archbishop, General, Admiral, and Prime Minister, and who led the victorious Danes to battle by sea and land, without neglecting the cure of souls, or diminishing in the least, his pious labours in the propagation of the Gospel abroad, and its maintenance and support at home.

time when this conquest was compleated (r) ; but they are all unanimous in their accounts of its effects. The Finlanders were commanded to embrace the religion of the conqueror, which the greatest part of them did, though with the utmost reluctance. (s) The founder and ruler of this new Church was Henry, Archbishop of Upsal, who accompanied the victorious monarch in that bloody campaign. This Prelate, whose zeal was not sufficiently tempered with the mild and gentle spirit of the religion he taught, treated the new converts with great severity, and was assassinated at last in a cruel manner on account of the heavy penance he imposed upon a person of great authority, who had been guilty of manslaughter. This melancholy event procured Henry the honours of Saintship and Martyrdom, which were solemnly conferred upon him by Pope Adrian IV. (t)

THE propagation of the gospel among the Livonians was attended with much difficulty ; and also with horrible scenes of cruelty and bloodshed. The first missionary, who attempted

(1) Most writers with Baronius place this event in the year 1151. Different, however, from this is the chronology of Vastovius and Oernhielmii, the former placing it A. D. 1150, and the latter A. D. 1157.

(s) Oernhielmii *Histor. Eccles. gentis Suecorum*, lib. iv. cap. iv. f. 13.—Jo. Locenii *Histor. Suecica*, lib. iii. p. 76, ed. Francof.—Erlandi *Vita Erici Sancti*, cap. vii.—Vastovii *Vitis Aquilonia*, p. 65.

(t) Vastovii *Vitis Aquilon. seu Vita Sanctorum regni Suegothici*, p. 62. Eric. Benezlii *Monumenta Ecclesia Suegothica*, part I. p. 33.

ed the conversion of that savage people, was Mainard, a regular Canon of St. Augustin, in the monastery of *Sigeberg*, who, towards the conclusion of this century (u), travelled to Livonia, with a company of merchants of *Bremen*, who traded thither, and improved this opportunity of spreading the light of the gospel in that barbarous region of superstition and darkness. The instructions and exhortations of this zealous Apostle were little attended to, and produced little or no effect upon that uncivilized nation; whereupon he addressed himself to the Roman Pontiff, Urban III. who consecrated him Bishop of the Livonians, and, at the same time, declared a *holy* war against that obstinate people. This war, which was at first carried on against the inhabitants of the province of *Esthonia*, was continued with still greater vigour and rendered more universal by Berthold, Abbot of *Lucca*, who left his monastery to share the labours and laurels of Mainard, whom he, accordingly, succeeded in the See of *Livonia*. The new Bishop marched into that province at the head of a powerful army which he had raised in *Saxony*, preached the gospel sword in hand, and proved its truth by blows instead of arguments. Albert, canon of *Bremen*, became the third Bishop of *Livonia*, and followed, with a barbarous enthusiasm, the same military methods of conversion that had been practised by his predecessor. He entered Livonia, A. D. 1198, with a fresh body of troops, drawn out of Saxony, and encamping at *Riga*, instituted there, by the direction of the Roman Pontiff,

(u) In the year 1186.

tiff, Innocent III. the military order of the Knights sword-bearers (w), who were commissioned to dragoon the Livonians into the profession of Christianity, and to oblige them, by force of arms, to receive the benefits of baptism. (x) New legions were sent from Germany to second the efforts, and add efficacy to the mission of these booted apostles; and they together with the Knights sword bearers so cruelly oppressed, slaughtered and tormented this wretched people, that, exhausted, at length, and unable to stand any longer firm against the arm of persecution, strengthened still by new accessions of power, they abandoned the statues of their Pagan Deities, and substituted in their place the images of the Saints. But while they received the blessings of the gospel, they were, at the same time, deprived of all earthly comforts; for their lands and possessions were taken from them with the most odious circumstances of cruelty and violence, and the Knights and Bishops divided the spoil. (y) The most eminent of the Christian doctors, who attempted the conversion of the Sclavonians, was Vicellinus, a native of Hamelen, a man of extraordinary merit, who surpassed almost all his contemporaries in genuine piety and solid learning, and who, after having presided

(w) *Equestris Ordo Militum Ensisferorum.*

(x) See Henr. Leonh. Schurzfleischii *Historia Ordinis Ensisferorum Equitum.* Witteberg, 1701, 8vo.

(y) See the *Origines Livonix, seu Chronicon vetus Livonicum*, published in folio, at Francfort, in the year 1740, by Jo. Daniel Gruberus, and enriched with ample and learned observations, and notes, in which the laborious author enumerates all the writers of the Livonian history, and corrects their mistakes.

presided many years in the society of the regular canons of St. Augustin at Falderen was, at length, consecrated Bishop of Oldenbourg. This excellent man had employed the last thirty years of his life (z), amidst numberless vexations, dangers and difficulties, in instructing the Slavonians, and exhorting them to comply with the invitations of the gospel of Christ; and as his pious labours were directed by true wisdom, and carried on with the most indefatigable industry and zeal, so they were attended with much fruit, even among that fierce and untractable people. Nor was his ministry among the Slavonians the only circumstance that redounds to the honour of his memory; the history of his life and actions in general furnish proofs of his piety and zeal, sufficient to transmit his name to the latest generations. (a)

It is needless to repeat here the observation we have had so often occasion to make upon such conversions as these we have been now relating, or to advertise the reader that the savage nations, who were thus dragooned into the Church,

became

(z) That is, from the year 1124, to the year 1154, in which he died.

(a) There is a particular and ample account of Vicellinus, in the *Cimbria Literata* of Mollerus, tom. ii. p. 910, and in the *Hamburg.* of Lambecius, lib. ii. p. 12. See also upon this subject the *Origines Neomonastr. et Bordestolmens.* of the most learned and industrious Joh. Ern. De Westphalen, which are published in the second tome of the *Monumenta inedita Cimbrica*, p. 2344, and the *Preface* to this tome, p. 33. There is in this work a print of Vicellinus well engraved.

became the disciples of Christ, not so much in reality as in outward appearance. (They professed, with an inward reluctance, a religion which was inculcated by violence and bloodshed, which recalled to their remembrance nothing but scenes of desolation and misery, and which, indeed, when considered in the representations that were given of it by the greatest part of the missionaries, was but a few degrees removed from the absurdities of Paganism.) The pure and rational religion of the gospel was never represented to these unhappy nations in its native simplicity; they were only taught to appease the deity, and to render him propitious, by a senseless round of trifling ceremonies and bodily exercises, which, in many circumstances, resembled the superstitions they were obliged to renounce, and might have been easily reconciled with them, had it not been that the name and history of Christ, the sign of the cross, and some diversity between certain rites and ceremonies of the two religions, opposed this coalition. Besides, the missionaries, whose zeal for imposing the name of Christians upon this people was so vehement and even furious, were extremely indulgent in all other respects, and opposed their prejudices and vices with much gentleness and forbearance. They permitted them to retain several rites and observances that were in direct opposition to the spirit of Christianity, and to the nature of true piety. The truth of the matter seems to have been this, that the leading views of these Christian heralds, and propagators of the faith, a small number excepted, were rather turned towards the advancement of their own interests, and the confirming and extending the dominion of the Roman Pontiffs,

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than towards the true conversion of these savage Pagans, that conversion which consists in the removal of ignorance, the correction of error, and the reformation of vice.

THE new kingdom of *Jerusalem*, which had been erected by the *holy warriors* of *France* towards the conclusion of the preceding century, seemed to flourish considerably at the beginning of this, and to rest upon firm and solid foundations. This prosperous scene was, however, but transitory, and was soon succeeded by the most terrible calamities and desolations. For when the Mahometans saw vast numbers of those that had engaged in this holy war returning into *Europe*, and the Christian Chiefs that remained in *Palestine* divided into factions, and advancing, every one, his private interest without any regard to the public good, they resumed their courage, recovered from the terror and consternation into which they had been thrown by the amazing valour and rapid success of the European legions, and gathering troops and soliciting succours from all quarters, they harraressed and exhausted the Christians by invasions and wars without interruption. The Christians, on the other hand, sustained their efforts with their usual fortitude, and maintained their ground during many years; but when Atabec Zenghi (b), after a long
siege,

(b) *Atabec* was a title of honour given by the *Sultans* to the Viceroy or Lieutenants whom they entrusted with the Government of their Provinces. The Latin authors, who have wrote the history of this holy war, and of whom Bongarsius has given us a complete list, call this *Atabec Zenghi*, Sanguinus. See Herbelot, *Biblioth. Orient.* at the word *Atabec*, p. 142.

siege, made himself master of the city of *Edeffa*, and threatened *Antioch* with the same fate, their courage began to fail, and a diffidence in their own strength obliged them to turn their eyes once more towards *Europe*. They accordingly implored, in the most lamentable strain, the assistance of the European Princes, and requested that a new army of cross-bearing champions might be sent to support their tottering empire in the holy land. Their entreaties were favourably received by the Roman Pontiffs, who left no method of persuasion unemploy'd, that might engage the Emperor and other Christian Princes to execute a new expedition into *Palestine*.

THIS new expedition was not, however, resolved upon with such unanimity and precipitation as the former had been ; it was the subject of long deliberation, and its expediency was keenly debated both in the cabinets of Princes, and in the assemblies of the Clergy and the People. Bernard, the famous Abbot of *Clairval*, a man of the boldest resolution and of the greatest authority, put an end to these disputes under the Pontificate of Eugenius III. who had been his disciple, and who was wholly governed by his counsels. This eloquent and zealous Ecclesiastic *preached the cross*, i. e. the *crusade* in *France* and *Germany*, with great ardour and success ; and in the grand Parliament assembled at *Vezelai*, A. D. 1146, at which Lewis VII. King of *France*, with his Queen, and a prodigious concourse of the principal nobility, were present, Barnard recommended this holy expedition with such a persuasive power, and declared with such assurance that he had a divine commission to foretell its glorious success, that the King, the

Queen, and all the Nobles, immediately put on the military cross, and prepared themselves for the voyage into *Palestine*. Conrad III. Emperor of *Germany*, was, for some time, unmoved by the exhortations of Bernard; but he was soon gained over by the urgent solicitations of the fervent Abbot, and followed, accordingly, the example of the French monarch. The two Princes, each at the head of a numerous army, set out for *Palestine*, to which they were to march by different roads. But, before their arrival in the holy land, the greatest part of their forces were melted away, and perished miserably, some by famine, some by the sword of the Mahometans, some by shipwreck, and a considerable number by the perfidious cruelty of the Greeks, who looked upon the Western nations as more to be feared than the Mahometans themselves. Lewis VII. left his kingdom, A. D. 1147, and, in the month of *March* of the following year, he arrived at *Antioch*, with the wretched remains of his army, exhausted and dejected by the hardships they had endured. Conrad set out also in the year 1147, in the month of *May*, and, in *November* following, he arrived at *Nice*, where he joined the *French* army, after having lost the greatest part of his own by calamities of various kinds. From *Nice* the two Princes proceeded to *Jerusalem*, A. D. 1148, from whence they led back into *Europe*, the year following, the miserable handful of troops, which had survived the disasters they met with in this expedition. Such was the unhappy issue of the second *crusade*, which was rendered ineffectual by a variety of causes, but more particularly by the jealousies and divisions that reigned among the Christian Chiefs in *Palestine*. Nor was it more

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ineffectual in *Palestine* than it was detrimental to *Europe*, by draining the wealth of its fairest provinces, and destroying such a prodigious number of its inhabitants

THE unhappy issue of this second expedition was not however sufficient, when considered alone, to render the affairs of the Christians, in *Palestine*, entirely desperate. Had their Chiefs and Princes laid aside their animosities and contentions, and attacked the common enemy with their united force, they would have soon repaired their losses, and recovered their glory. But this was far from being the case. A fatal corruption of sentiments and manners reigned among all ranks and orders. By their intestine quarrels, jealousies, and discords, they weakened their efforts against the enemies that surrounded them on all sides, and consumed their strength by thus unhappily dividing it. Saladin, Viceroy, or rather Sultan, of *Egypt* and *Syria*, and the most valiant Chief of whom the Mahometan annals boast, took advantage of these lamentable divisions. He waged war against the Christians with the utmost valour and success; took prisoner Guy of Lusignan, King of *Jerusalem*, in a fatal battle fought near *Tiberias*, A. D. 1187; and, in the course of the same year, reduced *Jerusalem* itself under his dominion. The carnage and desolations that accompanied this dreadful campaign threw the affairs of the Christians in the East into the most desperate condition, and left them no glimpse of hope, but what arose from the expected succours of the European Princes. These succours were obtained for them by the Roman Pontiffs with much difficulty, and in consequence of repeated solicitations and entreaties.

treaties. But the event was by no means answerable to the deep schemes that were concerted, and the pains that were employed for the support of the tottering kingdom of *Jerusalem*.

THE third expedition was undertaken, A. D. 1189, by Frederic I. surnamed Barbarossa, Emperor of *Germany*, who, with a prodigious army, marched through several Grecian provinces, where he had innumerable difficulties and obstacles to overcome, into the *Lesser Asia*, from whence, after having defeated the Sultan of *Iconium*, he penetrated into *Syria*. His valour and conduct promised successful and glorious campaigns to the army he commanded, when, by an unhappy accident, he lost his life in the river *Saleph*, which runs through *Seleucia*. The manner of his death is not known with any degree of certainty; the loss however of such an able Chief dejected the spirits of his troops, so that considerable numbers of them returned into *Europe*. Those that remained continued the war under the command of Frederic, son of the deceased Emperor; but the greatest part of them perished miserably by a pestilential disorder, which raged with prodigious violence in the camp, and swept off vast numbers every day. The new General died of this terrible disease A. D. 1191; those that escaped its fury were dispersed, and few returned to their own country.

THE example of Frederic Barbarossa was followed, in the year 1190, by Philip Augustus King of *France*, and Lion-hearted Richard, King of *England*. These two Monarchs set

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out from their respective dominions with a considerable number of ships of war and transports, arrived in *Palestine* in the year 1191, each at the head of a separate army, and were pretty successful in their first encounters with the infidels. After the reduction of the strong city of *Acca* or *Ptolemais*, which had been defended by the Moslems with the most obstinate valour, the French Monarch returned into *Europe*, in the month of July, 1191, leaving, however, behind him a considerable part of the army which he had conducted into *Palestine*. After his departure, the King of *England* pushed the war with the greatest vigour, gave daily marks of his heroic intrepidity and military skill, and not only defeated Saladin in several engagements, but also made himself master of *Raffa* (more commonly known by the name of *Joppa*) and *Cæsarear*. Deserted, however, by the French and Italians, and influenced by other motives and considerations of the greatest weight, he concluded, A. D. 1192, with Saladin, a truce of three years, three months, and as many days, and soon evacuated *Palestine* with his whole army. (c) Such was the issue of the third expedition against the infidels, which exhausted *England*, *France* and *Germany*, both of men and money, without bringing any solid advantage, or giving even a favourable turn to the affairs of the Christians in the holy land. These bloody wars between the Christians and the Mahometans gave rise to three famous military orders, whose

office

(c) Daniel, *Histoire de France*, tom. iii. p. 426.—Rapin Thoyras, *Histoire d'Angleterre*, tom. ii. See there the reign of Richard, *Cœur de Lion*.—Marigny, *Histoire des Arabes*, tom. iv. p. 285.

office it was to destroy the robbers that infested the public roads, to harass the Moslems by perpetual inroads and warlike achievements, to assist the poor and sick pilgrims, whom the devotion of the times conducted to the holy sepulchre, and to perform several other services that tended to the general good. The first of these orders was that of the *Knights of St. John of Jerusalem*, who, derived their name, and particularly that of *Hospitallers*, from an hospital dedicated, in that city to St. John the *Baptist*, in which certain pious and charitable brethren were constantly employed in relieving and refreshing with necessary supplies the indigent and diseased pilgrims, who were daily arriving at *Jerusalem*. When this city became the metropolis of a new kingdom, the revenues of the hospital were so prodigiously encreased by the liberality of several Princes, and the pious donations of such opulent persons as frequented the *holy places*, that they far surpassed the wants of those whom they were designed to cherish and relieve. Hence it was that Raymond du Puy, who was the ruler of this charitable house, offered to the King of *Jerusalem* to make war upon the Mahometans at his own expence, seconded by his brethren, who served under him in this famous hospital. Balduin II. to whom this proposal was made, accepted it readily, and the enterprize was solemnly approved of and confirmed by the authority of the Roman Pontiff. Thus, all of a sudden, the world was surprized with the strange transformation of a devout fraternity, who had lived remote from the noise and tumult of arms in the performance of works of charity and mercy, into a valiant and hardy band of warriors. The whole order was upon this occasion divided into

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three classes; the first contained the *Knights*, or soldiers of illustrious birth, who were to unsheath their swords in the Christian cause; in the second were comprehended the *Priests*, who were to officiate in the churches that belonged to the order; and in the third, the *serving brethren*, or the soldiers of low condition. This celebrated order gave, upon many occasions, eminent proofs of their resolution and valour, and acquired immense opulence by their heroic achievements. When *Palestine* was irrecoverably lost, the *Knights* passed into the isle of *Cyprus*; they afterwards made themselves masters of the isle of *Rhodes*, where they maintained themselves for a long time; but being, at length driven thence by the Turks, they received from the Emperor Charles V. a grant of the island of *Malta*, where their Chief, or grand Commander, still resides.

ANOTHER order, which was entirely of a military nature, was that of the *Knights Templars*, so called from a palace, adjoining the temple of *Jerusalem*, which was appropriated to their use for a certain time by Balduin II. The foundations of this order were laid at *Jerusalem*, in the year 1118, by Hugues des Pagens, Geoffry of St. Aldemer, or St. Omer, as some will have it, and seven other persons whose names are unknown; but it was not before the year 1228, that it acquired a proper degree of stability, by being confirmed solemnly in the council of *Troyes*, and subjected to a rule of discipline, drawn up by St. Bernard. These warlike Templars were to defend and support the cause of Christianity by force of arms, to have inspection over the public roads, and to pro-

fect the pilgrims, who came to visit *Jerusalem*, against the insults and barbarity of the Mahometans. The order flourished for some time, and acquired, by the valour of its Knights, immense riches, and an eminent degree of military renown; but, as their prosperity encreased, their vices were multiplied, and their arrogance, luxury, and inhuman cruelty rose at last to such a monstrous height, that their privileges were revoked, and their order suppressed with the most terrible circumstances of infamy and severity, by a decree of the Pope and of the council of *Vienne* in *Dauphiny*, as we shall see in the history of the fourteenth century. The third order resembled the first in this respect, that, though it was a military institution, the care of the poor and the relief of the sick were not excluded from the services it prescribed. Its members were distinguished by the title of *Teutonic Knights of St. Mary of Jerusalem*, and as to its first rise, we cannot, with any degree of certainty, trace it farther back than the year 1190, during the siege of *Accâ* or *Ptolemais*. During the long and tedious siege of *Accâ*, several pious and charitable merchants of *Bremen* and *Lubec*, touched with compassion at a sight of the miseries that the besiegers suffered in the midst of their success, devoted themselves entirely to the service of the sick and wounded soldiers, and erected a kind of hospital or tent, where they gave constant attendance to all such unhappy objects as had recourse to their charity. This pious undertaking was so agreeable to the German Princes, who were present at this terrible siege, that they thought proper to form a fraternity of German Knights to bring it to a greater degree of perfection. Their resolution was highly approved of by
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the Roman Pontiff Celestine III. who confirmed the new order by a Bull issued out the twenty-third of February, A. D. 1192. This order was entirely appropriated to the Germans, and even of them none were admitted as members of it, but such as were of an illustrious birth. The support of Christianity, the defence of the Holy Land, and the relief of the poor and needy, were the important duties and service to which the Teutonic Knights devoted themselves by a solemn vow. Austerity and frugality were the first characteristics of this rising order, and the Equestrian garment (d), with bread and water, were the only reward which the Knights derived from their generous labours. But as, according to the fate of human things, prosperity engenders corruption, so it happened that this austerity was of a short duration, and diminished in proportion as the revenues and possessions of the order augmented. The Teutonic Knights, after their retreat from *Palestine*, made themselves masters of *Prussia*, *Livonia*, *Courland*, and *Semigallen*; but, in process of time, their victorious arms received several checks, and when the light of the reformation arose upon *Germany*, they were deprived of the richest provinces which they possessed in that country; though they still retained there a certain portion of their ancient territories.

(d) This garment was a white mantle with a black cross.

CHAP. II.

Concerning the Doctors and Ministers of the Church, and its form of Government, during this Twelfth Century.

WHEREVER we turn our eyes among the various ranks and orders of the Clergy, we perceive, in this century, the most flagrant marks of licentiousness and fraud, ignorance and luxury, and other vices, whose pernicious effects were deeply felt both in Church and State. If we except a very small number, who retained a sense of the sanctity of their vocation, and lamented the corruption and degeneracy of their order, it may be said, with respect to the rest, that their whole business was to satisfy their lusts, to multiply their privileges by grasping perpetually at new honours and distinctions, to encrease their opulence, to diminish the authority, and to incroach upon the privileges of Princes and Magistrates, and, neglecting entirely the interests of religion and the cure of souls, to live in ease and pleasure, and draw out their days in an unmanly and luxurious indolence. This appears manifestly from two remarkable treatises of St. Bernard, in one of which he exposes the corruption of the Pontiffs and Bishops, while he describes in the other the enormous crimes of the Monastic orders, whose licentiousness he chastises with a just severity.

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THE Roman Pontiffs, who were placed successively at the head of the Church, governed that spiritual and mystical body by the maxims of worldly ambition, and thereby fomented the warm contest that had already arisen between the Imperial and Sacerdotal powers. On the one hand, the Popes not only maintained the opulence and authority they had already acquired, but extended their views farther, and laboured strenuously to enlarge both, though they had not all equal success in this ambitious attempt. The European Emperors and Princes, on the other hand, alarmed at the strides which the Pontiffs were making to universal dominion, used their utmost efforts to disconcert their measures, and to check their growing opulence and power. These violent dissensions between the *Empire* and the *Priesthood* (for so the contending parties were stiled in this century) were most unhappy in their effects, which were felt throughout all the European Provinces. Pascal II. who had been raised to the Pontificate about the conclusion of the preceding age, seemed now to sit firm and secure in the Apostolic Chair, without the least apprehension from the imperial faction, whose affairs had taken an unfavourable turn, and who had not the courage to elect a new Pope of their party in the place of Guibert, who died in the year 1100. (e)

PASCAL,

(e) Dr. Mosheim's affirmation here must be somewhat modified in order to be true; it is certain, that, after the death of Guibert, the imperial party chose in his place a person named Albert, who, indeed, was seized the day of his election, and cast into prison. Theodoric and Magnulf, were successively chosen after Albert,

PASCAL, therefore, unwilling to let pass unimproved the present success of the papal faction, renewed, in a council assembled at *Rome*, A. D. 1102, the decrees of his predecessors against *investitures*, and the excommunications they had thundered out against Henry IV. and used his most vigorous endeavours to raise up on all sides new enemies to that unfortunate Emperor. Henry, however, opposed, with great constancy and resolution, the efforts of this violent Pontiff, and eluded with much dexterity and vigilance his perfidious stratagems. But his heart, wounded in the tenderest part, lost all its firmness and courage, when, in the year 1106, an unnatural son, under the impious pretext of religion, took up arms against his person and his cause. Henry V. so was this monster afterwards named, seized his father in a most treacherous manner, and obliged him to abdicate the empire; after which the unhappy Prince retired to *Liege*, where, deserted by all his adherents, he departed this life, and so got rid of his misery in the year 1106. It has been a matter of dispute, whether it was the instigation of the Pontiff, or the ambitious and impatient thirst after dominion, that engaged Henry V. to declare war against his father; nor is it, perhaps, easy to decide this question with a perfect degree of evidence. One thing, however, is unquestionably certain, and that is, that Pascal II. dissolved, or rather impiously pretended to dissolve, the oath of fidelity and obedience that Henry had taken to his father; and not only so, but adopted the

Albert, but could not support for any time their claim to the Pontificate. See Fleury, *Hist. Eccles.* livr. liv. lxxv. vol. xiv. p. 10. *Brussels* edition in 8vo.

the cause and supported the interests of this unnatural rebel with the utmost zeal, assiduity and fervour.

THE revolution, that this odious rebellion caused in the empire, was, however, much less favourable to the views of Pascal than that lordly Pontiff expected. Henry V. could by no means be persuaded to renounce his right of *investing* the Bishops and Abbots, though he was willing to grant the right of election to the *Canons* and *Monks*, as was usual before his time. Upon this the exasperated Pontiff renewed, in the councils of *Guastallo* and *Troyes*, the decrees that had so often been issued out against *investitures*, and the flame broke out with new force. It was, indeed, suspended during a few years, by the wars in which Henry V. was engaged, and which prevented his bringing the matter to an issue. But no sooner had he made peace with his enemies, and composed the tumults that troubled the tranquillity of the empire, than he set out for *Italy* with a formidable army, A. D. 1110, in order to put an end to the long and unhappy contest. He advanced towards *Rome* by slow marches, while the trembling Pontiff, seeing himself destitute of all succour, and reduced to the lowest and most defenceless condition, proposed to him the following conditions of peace: That he, on the one hand, should renounce the right of *investing* with the *ring* and *crozier*; and that the Bishops and Abbots should, on the other hand, resign and give over to the Emperor all the grants they had received from Charlemagne, of those rights and privileges that belong to royalty, such as the power of raising tribute, coining money, and possessing independent lands and territories,

ries, with other immunities of a like nature. These conditions were agreeable to Henry, who accordingly gave a formal consent to them in the year 1111; but they were extremely displeasing to the Italian and German Bishops, who expressed their dissent in the strongest terms. Hence a terrible tumult arose in the Church of St. Peter, where the contending parties were assembled with their respective followers, upon which Henry ordered the Pope to be seized, and to be confined in the castle of *Viterbo*. After having lain there for some time, the captive Pontiff was engaged, by the unhappy circumstances of his present condition, to enter into a new convention, by which he solemnly receded from the article of the former treaty that regarded *investitures*, and confirmed to the Emperor the privilege of inaugurating the Bishops and Abbots with the *ring* and *crozier*. Thus was the peace concluded, in consequence of which the vanquished Pontiff arrayed Henry with the imperial diadem.

THIS transitory peace, which was the fruit of violence and necessity, was followed by greater tumults and more dreadful wars, than had yet afflicted the Church. Immediately after the conclusion of this treaty, *Rome* was filled with the most vehement commotions, and a universal cry was raised against the Pontiff, who was accused of having violated, in a scandalous manner, the duties and dignity of his station, and of his having prostituted the majesty of the Church by his ignominious compliance with the demands of the Emperor. To appease these commotions, Pascal assembled, in the year

1112,

1112, a council in the Church of *Lateran*, and there not only confessed, with the deepest contrition of humility, the fault he had committed in concluding such a convention with the Emperor, but submitted moreover the decision of that matter to the determination of the council, who accordingly took that treaty into consideration, and solemnly annulled it. (f) This step was followed by many events that gave, for a long time, an unfavourable turn to the affairs of the Emperor. He was excommunicated in many Synods and Councils both in *France* and *Germany*; nay, he was placed in the black list of *heretics*, a denomination, which exposed to the greatest dangers in these superstitious and barbarous times; (g) and, to complete his anxiety, he saw the German Princes revolting from his authority in several places, and taking up arms in the cause of the Church. To put an end to the calamities that thus afflicted the empire on all sides, Henry set out a second time for *Italy*, with a numerous army, in the year 1116, and arrived the year following at *Rome*, where he assembled the Consuls, Senators and Nobles, while the fugitive Pontiff retired to *Benvenuto*. Pascal, however, during this forced absence, engaged the Normans to come to his assistance, and, encouraged

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(f) Pascal, upon this occasion, as Gregory VII. had formerly done in the case of Berenger, submitted his proceedings and his authority to the judgment of a council, to which, of consequence, he acknowledged his subordination. Nay, still more, that council condemned his measures, and declared them scandalous.

(g) See Gervaise, *Diff. Sur l' Heresie des investitures*, which is the fourth of the *Dissertations* which he has prefixed to his *History of the Abbot Suger*.

by the prospect of immediate succour, prepared every thing for a vigorous war against the Emperor, and attempted to make himself master of *Rome*. But, in the midst of these war-like preparations, which drew the attention of *Europe*, and portended great and remarkable events, the military Pontiff yielded to fate, and concluded his days A. D. 1118.

It will appear unquestionably evident to every attentive and impartial observer of things, that the illiberal and brutish manners of those who ruled the Church were the only reason that rendered the dispute concerning *investitures* so violent and cruel, so tedious in its duration, and so unhappy in its effects. During the space of five and fifty years the Church was governed by Monks, who, to the obscurity of their birth, the asperity of their natural temper, and the unbounded rapacity of their ambition and avarice, joined that inflexible obstinacy which is one of the essential characteristics of the Monastic Order. Hence those bitter feuds, those furious efforts of ambition and vengeance, that dishonoured the Church, and afflicted the state during the course of this controversy.

ALEXANDER III. who was rendered so famous by his long and successful contest with Frederic I. was also engaged in a warm dispute with Henry II. King of *England*, which was occasioned by the arrogance of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of *Canterbury*. In the council of *Clarendon*, which was held in the year 1164, several laws were enacted, by which the King's power and jurisdiction over the Clergy were accurately explained,

explained, and the rights and privileges of the Bishops and Priests reduced within narrower bounds. (i) Becket refused

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obedience

(i) See Matth. Paris, *Hiflor. Major.* p. 82, 83, 101, 114. Dav. Wilkins, *Concilia Magnæ Britanniae*, tom. i. p. 434.

☞ Henry II. had formed the wise project of bringing the Clergy under the jurisdiction of the civil courts, on account of the scandalous abuse they had made of their immunities, and the crimes which the ecclesiastical tribunals let pass with impunity. The *Constitutions of Clarendon*, which consisted of XVI Articles, were drawn up for this purpose: And as they are proper to give the reader a just idea of the prerogatives and privileges that were claimed equally by the King and the Clergy, and that occasioned of consequence, such warm debates between State and Church, it will not be altogether useless to transcribe them here at length.

I. When any difference relating to the right of patronage arises between the Laity, or between the *Clergy* and *Laity*, the controversy is to be tried and ended in the *King's-Court*.

II. Those Churches which are *fees* of the Crown cannot be granted away in perpetuity without the King's consent.

III. When the *Clergy* are charged with any misdemeanor, and summoned by the justiciary, they shall be obliged to make their appearance in his Court, and plead to such parts of the indictment as shall be put to them; and likewise to answer such articles in the Ecclesiastical Court as they shall be prosecuted for by that jurisdiction: Always provided, that the King's justiciary shall send an officer to inspect the proceedings of the Court Christian. And in case any *clerk* is convicted, or pleads guilty, he is to forfeit the privileges of his character, and to be protected by the Church no longer.

IV. No

obedience to these laws, which he looked upon as prejudicial to the *divine* rights of the Church in general, and to the prerogatives

IV. No Archbishops, Bishops, or Parsons, are allowed to depart the Kingdom without a licence from the Crown; and, provided they have leave to travel, they shall give security, not to act or solicit any thing during their passage, stay, or return, to the prejudice of the King, or Kingdom.

V. When any of the Laity are prosecuted in the Ecclesiastical Courts, the charge ought to be proved before the Bishops by legal and reputable witnesses: and the course of the process is to be so managed, that the Archdeacon may not lose any part of his right, or the profits accruing to his office: and, if any offenders appear screened from prosecution upon the score either of favour or quality, the Sheriff, at the Bishop's instance, shall order twelve sufficient men of the neighbourhood to make oath before the Bishop, that they will discover the truth according to the best of their knowledge.

VI. Excommunicated persons shall not be obliged to make oath, or give security to continue upon the place where they live: but only to abide by the judgment of the Church in order to their absolution.

VII. No person that *holds in chief of the King*, or any of his Barons, shall be excommunicated, or any of their estates put under an *interdict*, before application made to the King, provided he is in the Kingdom, and, in case his Highness be out of *England*, then the justiciary must be acquainted with the dispute, in order to make satisfaction: and thus what belongs to the cognizance of the King's Court, must be tried there; and that which belongs to the Court Christian, must be remitted to that jurisdiction.

VIII. In

rogatives of the Roman Pontiffs in particular. Upon this there arose a violent debate between the resolute Monarch and the rebellious

VIII. In case of ecclesiastical causes, the first step is to be made from the Archdeacon to the Bishop; and from the Bishop to the Archbishop; and, if the Archbishop fails to do justice, a farther recourse may be had to the King, by whose order the controversy is to be finally decided in the Archbishop's Court. Neither shall it be lawful for either of the parties to move for any further remedy without leave from the Crown.

IX. If a difference happens to arise between any Clergyman and Layman concerning any tenement; and that the *Clerk* pretends it held by *frank-almoine*, (i. e. a tenure by divine service, as *Britton* explains it) and the Layman pleads it a *lay fee*; in this case, the tenure shall be tried by the enquiry and verdict of twelve sufficient men of the neighbourhood, summoned according to the custom of the realm. And, if the tenement or thing in controversy shall be found *frank-almoine*, the dispute concerning it shall be tried in the Ecclesiastical Court. But, if it is brought in a *lay-fee*, the suit shall be followed in the King's Courts, unless both the Plaintiff and Defendant hold the tenement in question of the same Bishop; in which case, the cause shall be tried in the Court of such Bishop or Baron, with this farther proviso, that he who is seized of the thing in controversy, shall not be disseised, hanging the suit (i. e. *during the suit, pendente lite*) upon the score of the verdict above-mentioned.

X. He who holds of the King in any City, Castle, or Borough, or resides upon any of the demesne-lands of the Crown, in case he is cited by the Archdeacon or Bishop to answer any misbehaviour belonging to their cognizance; if he refuses to obey their summons, and stand to the sentence of the Court, it shall be lawful for the ordinary to put him under an interdict, but not to excommunicate him, till the King's principal officer of the town shall

rebellious Prelate, which obliged the latter to retire into *France*, where Alexander III. was at that time in a kind of exile.

shall be pre-acquainted with the case, in order to enjoin him to make satisfaction to the Church. And, if such officer or magistrate shall fail in his duty, he shall be fined by the King's Judges. And then the Bishop may exert his discipline on the refractory person as he thinks fit.

XI. All Archbishops, Bishops, and Ecclesiastical persons, who hold of the King in chief, and the tenure of a Barony, are for that reason obliged to appear before the King's Justices and Ministers, to answer the duties of their tenure, and to observe all the usages and customs of the realm; and, like other Barons, are bound to be present in the King's-Court, till sentence is to be pronounced for the losing of life or limbs.

XII. When any Archbishoprick, Bishoprick, Abby, or Priory of Royal foundation, becomes vacant, the King is to make seizure: from which time, all the profits and issues are to be paid into the Exchequer, as if they were the demesne-lands of the Crown. And when it is determined the vacancy shall be filled up, the King is to summon the most considerable persons of the chapter to Court, and the election is to be made in the Chapel-royal, with the consent of our Sovereign Lord the King, and by the advice of such persons of the Government, as his Highness shall think fit to make use of. At which time, the person elected, before his consecration, shall be obliged to do homage and fealty to the King, and to his liege Lord; which homage shall be performed in the usual form, with a clause for saving the privilege of his Order.

XIII. If any of the temporal Barons, or great men, shall encroach upon the rights or property of any Archbishop, Bishop, or Archdeacon, and refuse to make satisfaction for wrong done by

exile. This Pontiff and the King of *France* interposed their good offices in order to compose these differences, in which they succeeded so far, after much trouble and difficulty, as to encourage Becket to return into *England*, where he was re-instated in his forfeited dignity. But the generous and indulgent proceeding of his Sovereign towards him were not sufficient to conquer his arrogant and rebellious obstinacy in maintaining, what he called, the privileges of the Church, nor could he be induced by any means to comply with the views and measures of Henry. The consequences of this inflexible

by themselves or their tenants, the King shall do justice to the party aggrieved. And, if any person shall disseize the King of any part of his lands, or trespass upon his prerogative, the Archbishops, Bishops, and Archdeacons shall call him to an account, and oblige him to make the Crown restitution. *i. e. They were to excommunicate such disseizers and injurious persons in case they proved refractory and incorrigible.*

XIV. The goods and chattels of those who lie under forfeitures for felony or treason are not to be detained in any Church or Church-yard, to secure them against seizure and justice; because such goods are the King's property, whether they are lodged within the precincts of a Church or without it.

XV. All actions and pleas of debts, though never so solemn in the circumstances of the contract, shall be tried in the King's Courts.

XVI. The sons of Copy-holders are not to be ordained without the consent of the lord of the Manor where they were born.

Such

flexible resistance were fatal to the haughty Prelate, for he was, soon after his return to *England*, assassinated before the altar, while he was at vespers in his cathedral, by four persons. (k) This event produced warm debates between the King of *England* and the Roman Pontiff, who gained his point so far as to make the suppliant Monarch undergo a severe course of penance, in order to expiate a crime of which he was considered as the principal promoter, while the murdered Prelate was solemnly enrolled in the highest rank of Saints and Martyrs, in the year 1175.

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Such were the Articles of the Constitutions of *Clarendon*, against the greatest part of which the Pope protested. They were signed by the English Clergy and also by Becket. The latter, however, repented of what he had done, and, retiring from Court, suspended himself from his office in the Church for about forty days, till he received absolution from Alexander III. who was then at *Sens*. His aversion to these articles manifested itself by an open rebellion against his Sovereign, in which he discovered his true character, as a most daring, turbulent, vindictive, and arrogant Priest, whose ministry was solely employed in extending the despotic dominion of *Rome*, and whose fixed purpose was to aggrandize the Church upon the ruins of the state. See Collier's *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. i. xiith century.

(k) Henry in an unguarded moment, when, after having received new affronts, notwithstanding the reconciliation he had effected with so much trouble and condescension, expressed himself to this purpose: *Am I not unhappy that, among the numbers, who are attached to my interests, and employed in my service, there is none possessed of spirit enough to resent the affronts which I am constantly receiving from a miserable Priest?* These

words,

It was not only by force of arms, but also by uninterrupted efforts of dexterity and artifice, by wise councils and prudent laws, that Alexander III. maintained the pretended rights of the Church, and extended the authority of the Roman Pontiffs. For in the third council of the Lateran, held at Rome A. D. 1179, the following decrees, among many others upon different subjects, were passed by his advice and authority: 1st. That in order to put an end to the confusion and dissensions, which so often accompanied the election of the Roman Pontiffs, the right of election should not only be vested in the *Cardinals* alone, but also that the person, in whose favour two thirds of the college of Cardinals vested, should be considered as the lawful and duly elected Pontiff. This law is still in force; it was therefore from the time of Alexander that the election of the Pope acquired that form which it still retains, and by which not only the people, but also the Roman Clergy, are excluded entirely from all share in the honour of conferring that important dignity. 2dly. A spiritual war was declared against Heretics, whose num-

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bers

words, indeed, were not pronounced in vain. Four gentlemen of the court, whose names were *Fitz-Urse*, *Tracy*, *Britton* and *Morville*, murdered Becket in his chapel, and thus performed, in a licentious and criminal manner, an action which the laws might have commanded with justice. The King, suspecting the design of the four gentlemen above-mentioned, by some menacing expressions they had dropt, "dispatched (says Mr. Hume) a messenger after them, charging them to attempt nothing against the person of the Primate. But these orders came too late." See his *History of England*, vol. i. p. 294.

bers increasing considerably about this time, created much disturbance in the Church in general, and infested, in a more particular manner, several provinces in *France*, which groaned under the fatal dissensions that accompanied the propagation of their errors. (l) Illdly. The right of recommending and nominating to the faintly order was also taken away from councils and bishops, and *canonization* was ranked among the *greater and more important causes*, the cognizance of which belonged to the Pontiff alone. To all this we must not forget to add, that the power of creating new kingdoms, which had been claimed by the Pontiffs from the time of Gregory VII. was not only assumed, but also exercised, by Alexander in a remarkable instance; for in the year 1179, he conferred the title of King, with the ensigns of royalty, upon Alphonso I. Duke of *Portugal*, who, under the Pontificate of Lucius II. had rendered his province tributary to the Roman See. (m)

UPON

(l) See Natalis Alexander, *Select. Histor. Eccles. Capit. Sac.* xii. *Diff.* ix. p. 819. where he treats particularly concerning this council. See also *tom.* vi. part ii. *Conciliorum Harduini*, p. 1671.

(m) Baronius, *Annal. ad A.* 1179. Innocent III. *Epistole*, lib. ep. xlix. p. 54. *tom.* i. ed *Baluzian*.

Alphonso had been declared, by his victorious army, King of Portugal, in the year 1136, in the midst of the glorious exploits he had performed in the war against the Moors; so that Alexander III. did no more than confirm this title by an arrogant bull, in which he treats that excellent Prince as his vassal.

UPON the death of Alexander, Urbald, Bishop of *Ostia*, otherwise known by the name of Lucius III. was raised to the Pontificate, A. D. 1181, by the suffrages of the cardinals alone, in consequence of the law mentioned above. The administration of this new Pontiff was embittered by violent tumults and seditions; for he was twice driven out of the city by the Romans, who could not bear a Pope that was elected, in opposition to the antient custom, without the knowledge and consent of the Clergy and people. In the midst of these troubles he died at *Verona* in the year 1185, and was succeeded by Hubert Crivelli, Bishop of *Milan*, who assumed the title of Urban III. and without having transacted any thing worthy of mention during his short Pontificate, died of grief in the year 1187, upon hearing that Saladin had made himself master of *Jerusalem*. Celestine III. (n) makes a shining figure in history; for he thundered his excommunications against the Emperors Henry VI. and Leopold, Duke of *Austria*, on account of their having seized and imprisoned Richard I. King of *England*, as he was returning from the Holy Land; he also subjected to the same malediction Alphonso X. King of *Galicia* and *Leon*, on account of an incestuous marriage into which that Prince had entered, and commanded Philip Augustus, King of *France*, to re-admit to the conjugal state and honours of Ingelburg his Queen, whom he had divorced for reasons unknown; though this order, indeed,

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deed,

(n) Whose name was Hyacinth, a native of *Rome*, and a cardinal deacon.

deed, produced but little effect. (o) But the most illustrious and resolute Pontiff, that filled the Papal chair during this century, and whose exploits made the greatest noise in Europe, was Lotharius, Count of Segni, Cardinal Deacon, otherwise known by the name of Innocent III. The arduous undertakings and bold achievements of this eminent Pontiff, who was placed at the head of the Church in the year 1198, belong to the history of the following century.

If from the series of Pontiffs that ruled the Church in this century, we descend to the other Ecclesiastical Orders, such as the Bishops, Priests and Deacons, the most disagreeable objects will be exhibited to our view. The unanimous voice of the historians of this age, as well as the laws and decrees of synods and councils declare, loudly the gross ignorance, the odious frauds, and the flagitious crimes, that reigned among the different Monks and orders of the Clergy now mentioned. It is not therefore at all surprizing, that the Monks, whose rules of discipline obliged them to a regular method of living, and placed them out of the way of many temptations to licentiousness, and occasions of sinning, to which the Episcopal and Sacerdotal orders were exposed, were held in higher esteem than they were. The reign of corruption became, however, so general, that it reached at last even to Convents;
and

(o) It was in consequence of the vigorous and terrible proceedings of Innocent III. that the reunion between Philip and Ingelburg was accomplished. See *L'Histoire de France, par l'Abbé Velly*, tom. iii. p. 367, 368, 369.

and the Monks, who were gaining with the most ardent efforts the summit of Ecclesiastical power and authority, and who beheld both the *secular Clerks* and the *regular Canons* with aversion and contempt (p), began in many places, to degenerate from that sanctity of manners, and that exact obedience to their rules of discipline, by which they had formerly been distinguished, and to exhibit to the people scandalous examples of immorality and vice. (q)

(p) See Ruperti Epistola in Martene Thesaur. Anecd. tom. i. p. 285. This writer prefers the Monks before the Apostles.

(q) See Bernard. Consideration. ad Eugenium, lib. iii. cap. iv. See also the Speculum Stultorum, or Brunellies, a Poem, composed by Nigel Wireker, an English Bard of no mean reputation, who lived about the middle of the xiiith century. In this poem, of which several editions have been published, the different orders of Monks are severely censured; the Carthusians alone have escaped the keen and virulent satire of this witty writer.

C H A P. III.

*Concerning the Doctrine of the Christian Church in the
Twelfth Century.*

WHEN we consider the multitude of causes which united their influence in obscuring the lustre of genuine Christianity, and corrupting it by a profane mixture of the inventions of superstitious and designing men with its pure and sublime doctrines, it will appear surprizing, that the religion of Jesus was not totally extinguished. All orders contributed, though in different ways, to corrupt the native purity of true religion. The Roman Pontiffs led the way: they would not suffer any doctrines that had the smallest tendency to diminish their despotic authority; but obliged the public teachers to interpret the precepts of Christianity in such a manner, as to render them subservient to the support of papal dominion and tyranny. This order was so much the more terrible, in that such as refused to comply with it, and to force the words of scripture into significations totally opposite to the intention of its Divine Author, such, in a word, as had the courage to place the authority of the gospel above that of the Roman Pontiffs, and to consider it as the supreme rule of their conduct, were answered with the formidable arguments of fire and sword, and received death in the most cruel forms, as the fruit of their sincerity

sincerity and resolution. The Priests and Monks contributed, in their way, to disfigure the beautiful simplicity of religion; and, finding it their interest to keep the people in the grossest ignorance and darkness, dazzled their feeble eyes with the ludicrous pomp of a gaudy worship, and led them to place the whole of religion in vain ceremonies, bodily austerities and exercises, and particularly in a blind and stupid veneration for the Clergy. The scholastic doctors, who considered the decisions of the Ancients and the precepts of the Dialecticians, as the great rule and criterion of truth, instead of explaining the doctrines of the gospel, mined them by degrees, and sunk divine truth under the ruins of a captious philosophy; while the Mystics, running into the opposite extreme, maintained, that the souls of the truly pious were incapable of any spontaneous motions, and could only be moved by a *divine impulse*; and thus not only set limits to the pretensions of reason, but excluded it entirely from religion and morality; nay, in some measure, denied its very existence.

THE consequences of all this were superstition and ignorance, which were substituted in the place of true religion, and reigned over the multitude with an universal sway. Relics, which were for the most part fictitious, or at least uncertain, attracted more powerfully the confidence of the people, than the merits of Christ, and were supposed by many to be more effectual than the prayers offered to Heaven through the mediation and intercession of that divine Redeemer. (r) The
opulent,

(r) See Guibert de Novigento, De pignoribus (so were relics called) Sanctorum, in his works published by Dacherius, p. 327.
where

opulent, whose circumstances enabled them either to erect new temples, or to repair and embellish the old, were looked upon as the happiest of all mortals, and were considered as the most intimate friends of the Most High. While they, whom poverty rendered incapable of such pompous acts of liberality, contributed to the multiplication of religious edifices by their bodily labours, cheerfully performed the services that beasts of burden are usually employed in, such as carrying stones and drawing waggons, and expected to obtain eternal salvation by these voluntary and painful efforts of misguided zeal. (s) The Saints had a greater number of worshippers than the Supreme Being and Saviour of mankind; nor did these superstitious worshippers trouble their heads about that knotty question, which occasioned much debate and many laborious disquisitions in succeeding times, viz. *How the inhabitants of Heaven came to the knowledge of the prayers and supplications that were addressed to them from the earth?* This question was prevented in this century by an opinion, which the Christians had received from their Pagan ancestors, that the inhabitants of Heaven descended often from above, and frequented the places, in which they had formerly taken pleasure during
their

where he attacks, with judgment and dexterity, the superstition of these miserable times.

(s) See Haymon's Treatise concerning this custom, published by Mabillon, at the end of the sixth tom. of his *Annal. Benedict.* See also these Annals, p. 392.

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their residence upon earth. (t) To finish the horrid portrait of superstition, we shall only observe that the stupid credulity of the people in this century went so far, that when any person, either through the frenzy of a disordered imagination, or with a design to deceive, published the dreams or visions, which they *fancied*, or *pretended*, they had from above, the multitude resorted to the new oracle, and respected its decisions as the commands of God, who, in this way, was pleased, as they imagined, to communicate counsel, instruction, and the knowledge of his will to men. This appears, to mention no other examples, from the extraordinary reputation, which the two famous prophetesses, Hildegard, Abbess of *Bingen*, and Elizabeth of *Schonauge*, obtained in Germany. (u) This universal reign of ignorance and superstition was dexterously, yet basely, improved by the rulers of the Church, to fill their coffers, and to drain the purses of the deluded multitude. And, indeed, all the various ranks and orders of the Clergy, had each their peculiar method of fleecing the people. The *Bishops*, when they wanted money for their private pleasures,

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or,

(t) As a proof that this assertion is not without foundation, we shall transcribe the following remarkable passage of the life of St. Altman, *Bishop* of Padua, as it stands in the Tengenagel's *Collect. Vet. Monumentor.* p. 41. *Vos licet, sancti Domini, somno vestro quiescatis—haud tamen crediderim, spiritus vestros deesse locis, quæ viventes tanta devotione construxistis et dilexistis. Credo vos adesse cunctis illic degentibus, astare videlicet orantibus, succurrere laborantibus, et vota singulorum in conspectu divina majestatis promovere.*

(u) See Mabillon, *Annales Benedi.* tom. vi. p. 431, 529. 554.

or, for the exigencies of the Church, granted to their flock the power of purchasing the remission of the penalties imposed upon transgressors by a sum of money, which was to be applied to certain religious purposes; or, in other words, they published *indulgences*, which became an inexhaustible source of opulence to the Episcopal Orders, and enabled them, as is well known, to form and execute the most difficult schemes for the enlargement of their authority, and to erect a multitude of sacred edifices, which augmented considerably the external pomp and splendor of the Church. (w) The *Abbots* and *Monks*, who were not qualified to grant indulgences, had recourse to other methods of enriching their convents. They carried about the country the carcases and relics of the Saints in solemn procession, and permitted the multitude to behold, touch, and embrace these sacred and lucrative remains, at certain fixed prices. The Monastic Orders gained often as much by this raree-show, as the Bishops did by their indulgences. (x) When the Roman Pontiffs cast an eye upon the immense treasures that the inferior rulers of the Church were accumulating by the sale of *indulgences*, they thought proper

(w) Stephanus, *Obazinensis* in Baluzii *Miscellan.* tom. iv. p. 130. Mabillon, *Annal. Benedi.* tom. vi. p. 535; &c.

(x) We find in the records of this century innumerable examples of this method of extorting contributions from the multitude. See the *Chronicon Contulense* in Dacherii *Spicilegio Veter. Scriptor.* tom. ii. p. 354. *Vita Sta. Romana*, ibid. p. 137. Mabillon, *Annal. Benedi.* tom. vi. p. 342, 644.—*Acta Sanctor. Mensis Maii*, tom. vii p. 533, where we have an account of a long journey made by the relics of *St. Marculus*—Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Benedi.* tom. vi. p. 519, 520, and tom. ii. p. 733.

proper to limit the power of the Bishops in remitting the penalties imposed upon transgressors, and assumed almost entirely, this profitable traffic to themselves. In consequence of this new measure, the court of *Rome* became the general magazine of indulgences; and the Pontiffs, when either the wants of the Church, the emptiness of their coffers, or the demons of artifice, prompted them to look out for new subsidies, published, not only an universal, but also a complete, or what they call a *plenary* remission of all the *temporal* pains and penalties, which the Church had annexed to certain transgressions. They went still farther; and not only remitted the penalties, which the civil and ecclesiastical laws had enacted against transgressors, but audaciously usurped the authority which belongs to God alone, and impiously pretended to abolish even the punishments which are reserved in a future state for the workers of iniquity; a step this, which the Bishops, with all their avarice and presumption, had never once ventured to take. (y)

THE Pontiffs first employed this pretended prerogative in promoting the holy war, and shed abroad their indulgences, though with a certain degree of moderation, in order to encourage the European Princes to form new expeditions for the

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conquest

(y) Morinus, *De administratione sacramenti penitentia*, lib. x. cap. xx, xxi, xxii, p. 768.—Rich. Simon, *Biblioth. Critique*, tom. iii. cap. xxxiii. p. 371.—Mabillon, *Pref. ad Acta Sanctor. Sac. v. Actor. Sanctor. Benedicti*. p. 54, not to speak of the Protestant writers, whom I designedly pass over.

conquest of *Palestine*; but, in process of time, the charm of indulgences was practised upon various occasions of much less consequence, and merely with a view to filthy lucre. (z) Their introduction, among other things, destroyed the credit and authority of the ancient *Canonical* and *Ecclesiastical discipline of penance*, and occasioned the removal and suppression of the *Penitentials*, (a) by which the reins were let loose to every kind of vice. Such proceedings stood much in need of a plausible defence, but this was impossible. To justify therefore these scandalous measures of the Pontiffs, a most monstrous and absurd doctrine was now invented, which was modified and embellished by St. Thomas in the following century, and which contained among others the following enormities; “ That there actually existed an immense treasure of “ *merit*, composed of the pious deeds and virtuous actions, “ which the Saints had performed beyond what was necessary “ for their own salvation, (b) and which were therefore applicable to the benefit of others; that the guardian and “ dispenser of this precious treasure was the Roman Pontiff; “ and

(z) Muratori *Antiq. Ital. medii ævi.* tom. v. p. 761.—Franc. Pagi. *Breviar. Rom. Pontif.* tom. ii. p. 60.—Theod. Ruinart *Vita Urbani II.* p. 231. tom. iii. Opp. Posthum.

(a) The *penitential* was a book, in which the degree and kind of penance that were annexed to each crime, were registered.

(b) These works are known by the name of *Works of Supererogation*.

“ and that, of consequence, he was empowered to *assign* to
 “ such as he thought proper, a portion of this inexhaustible
 “ source of *merit*, suitable to their respective *guilt*, and suf-
 “ ficient to deliver them from the punishment due to their
 “ crimes.” It is a most deplorable mark of the power of su-
 perstition, that a doctrine, so absurd in its nature, and so
 pernicious in its effects, should yet be retained and defended
 in the Church of *Rome*.

CHAP. IV.

*Concerning the Rites and Ceremonies used in the Church during
this Twelfth Century.*

THE rites and ceremonies used in divine worship, both public and private, were now greatly augmented among the Greeks, and the same superstitious passion for the introduction of new observances, discovered itself in all the Eastern Churches. The Grecian, Nestorian, and Jacobite Pontiffs, that were any way remarkable for their credit or ambition, were desirous of transmitting their names to posterity by the invention of some new rite, or by some striking change introduced into the method of worship that had hitherto prevailed. This was, indeed, almost the only way left to distinguish themselves in an age, where all sense of the excellence of genuine religion and substantial piety being almost totally lost, the whole care and attention of an ostentatious Clergy, and a superstitious multitude, were employed upon that round of external ceremonies and observances that were substituted in their place. Thus some attempted, though in vain, to render their names immortal, by introducing a new method of reading or reciting the prayers of the Church; others changed the Church music; others, again, tortured their inventions to find out some new mark of veneration, that might be offer-

ed to the relics and images of the Saints; while several Ecclesiastics did not disdain to employ their time, with the most serious assiduity, in embellishing the garments of the Clergy, and in forming the motions and postures they were to observe, and the looks they were to assume, in the celebration of divine worship.

WE may learn from the book *De divinis officiis*, composed by the famous Rupert, or Robert, of *Duytz*, what were the rites in use among the Latins during this century, as also the reasons on which they were founded. According to the plan we follow, we cannot here enlarge upon the additions that were made to the doctrinal parts of religion. We shall therefore only observe, that the enthusiastic veneration for the Virgin Mary, which had been hitherto carried to such an excessive height, increased now instead of diminishing, since her dignity at this time was considerably augmented by the new fiction or invention relating to her *immaculate conception*. For though St. Bernard and others opposed with vigour this chimerical notion, yet their efforts were counteracted by the superstitious fury of the deluded multitude, whose judgment prevailed over the counsels of the wise. So that about the year 1138, there was a solemn festival instituted in honour of this pretended *conception*, though we know not with any degree of certainty, by whose authority it was first established, nor in what place it was first celebrated.

OF all the sects that arose in this century, none was more distinguished by the reputation it acquired, by the multitude of its votaries, and the testimony which its bitterest enemies bore to the probity and innocence of its members, than that of the Waldenses, so called from their parent and founder Peter Waldus. This sect was known by different denominations. From the place where it first appeared, its members were called the poor men of Lions, (c) or Leonists, and, from the wooden shoes which its doctors wore, and a certain mark that was imprinted upon these shoes, they were called *Insabbatati*, or *Sabbatati*. (d) The origin of this famous sect was as follows: Peter, an opulent merchant of Lions, furnamed *Valdensis*, or *Validisus*, from *Vaux*, or *Valdum*, a town in the marquisate of *Lions*, being extremely zealous for the advancement of true piety and christian knowledge, employed

(c) They were called *Leonists* from *Leona*, the ancient name of *Lyons*, where their sect took its rise. The more eminent persons of that sect manifested their progress towards perfection by the simplicity and meanness of their outward appearance. Hence, among other things, they wore wooden shoes, which in the French language are termed *sabots*, and had imprinted upon these shoes the sign of the cross, to distinguish themselves from other Christians; and it was on these accounts that they acquired the denominations of *sabbatati* and *insabbatati*. See Du Fresnoy *Glossarium Latin. medii ævi. vi. voce Sabbatati*, p. 4.—Nicol. Eumerici *Directorium Inquisitorum*, part III, N. 112, &c.

(d) See Steph. de Borbonne *De septem donis spiritus sancti*, in Echard & Quetif. *Bibliotheca Scriptor. Dominicanor.* tom. i. p. 192.—Anonym. *Traſſatio de Hereſi Pauperum de Lugduno*, in Martene *Theſauro Anecdotor.* tom. v. p. 1777.

employed a certain priest (e), about the year 1160, in translating from Latin into French the *Four Gospels*, with other books of the Holy Scriptures, and the most remarkable sentences of the ancient doctors, which were so highly esteemed in this century. But no sooner had he perused those sacred books with a proper degree of attention, than he perceived that the religion, which was now taught in the Roman Church, differed totally from that which was originally inculcated by Christ and his Apostles. Struck with this glaring contradiction between the doctrines of the Pontiffs and the truths of the Gospel, and animated with a pious zeal for promoting his own salvation and that of others, he abandoned his mercantile vocation, distributed his riches among the poor (f), and forming an association with other pious men, who had adopted his sentiments and his turn of devotion, he began, in the year 1180, to assume the quality of a public teacher, and to instruct the multitude in the doctrines and precepts of Christianity. The Archbishop of *Lions*, and the other rulers of the Church in that province, opposed, with vigour, this new doctor in the exercise of his ministry. But their opposition was unsuccessful; for the purity and simplicity which these good men taught, the spotless innocence which shone forth in their lives and actions, and the noble contempt of riches and honours which was conspicuous in the whole of

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(e) This Priest was called Stephanus de Evisa.

(f) It was on this account that the Waldenses were called *Pauvres di Lions*, or *Poor men of Lions*.

their conduct and conversation, appeared so engaging to all such as had any true sense of piety, that the number of their disciples and followers increased from day to day to day. (g)

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(g) Certain writers give different accounts of the origin of the *Waldenses*, and suppose they were so called from the *vallies* in which they had resided for many ages before the birth of Peter Waldus. But those writers have no authority to support this assertion, and besides this they are refuted amply by the best historians. I don't mean to deny, that there were in the *Vallies of Piedmont*, long before this period, a set of men who differed widely from the opinions adopted and inculcated by the Church of Rome, and whose doctrine resembled, in many respects that of the *Waldenses*; all that I maintain is, that these inhabitants of the *Vallies* above-mentioned are to be carefully distinguished from the *Waldenses*, who, according to the unanimous voice of history, were originally inhabitants of *Lyons*, and derived their name from Peter Waldus, their founder and chief.—We may venture to affirm the contrary with the learned Beza and other writers of note; for it seems evident from the best records, that Valdus derived his name from the true *Valdenses* of *Piedmont*, whose doctrine he adopted, and who were known by the names of *Vaudois* and *Valdenses*, before he or his immediate followers existed. If the *Valdenses* or *Waldenses* had derived their name from any eminent teacher, it would probably have been from Valdo, who was remarkable for the purity of his doctrine in the IXth century, and was the cotemporary and chief counsellor of Berengarius. But the truth is, that they derive their name from their *Vallies* in *Piedmont*, which in their language are called *Vaux*, hence *Vaudois*, their true name; hence Peter or (as others call him) John of *Lyons*, was called in Latin *Valdus*, because he had adopted their doctrine; and hence the term *Valdenses* and *Waldenses* used by those, who write in English or Latin, in the place of *Vaudois*. The bloody Inquisitor Reinerus Sacco, who exerted such a furious zeal for the destruction of the *Waldenses*, lived but about 80 years after *Valdus* of *Lyons*, and must therefore

They accordingly formed religious assemblies, first in *France*, and afterwards in *Lombardy*, from whence they propagated their sect throughout the other provinces of *Europe* with incredible rapidity, and with such invincible fortitude, that neither fire nor sword, nor the most cruel inventions of merciless persecution, could damp their zeal, or entirely ruin their cause. (h)

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fore be supposed to know whether or not he was the real founder of the *Valdenses* or *Leonists*; and yet it is remarkable that he speaks of the *Leonists* (mentioned by Dr. Mosheim in the preceding page 438, as synonymous with *Waldenses*) as a sect that had flourished above 500 years; nay mentions authors of note, who make their antiquity remount to the Apostolic age. See the account given of Sacco's book by the Jesuit Gresser, in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*. I know not upon what principle Dr. Mosheim maintains, that the inhabitants of the *Vallies of Piedmont* are to be carefully distinguished from the *Waldenses*; and I am persuaded, that whoever will be at the pains to read attentively the 2nd, 25th, 26th, and 27th chapters of the first book of Leger's *Histoire Generale des Eglises Vaudoises*, will find this distinction entirely groundless.—When the Papists ask us *where our religion was before Luther?* we generally answer *in the Bible*; and we answer well. But to gratify their taste for *tradition* and *human authority*, we may add to this answer, *and in the Vallies of Piedmont*.

(h) See the following ancient writers, who have given accounts of the sect in question, *to wit*, Sachoni *Summa contra Valdenses*.—Monetæ *Summa contra Cartharos et Valdenses*, published by Martene, in his *Thesaur. Anecd.* tom. v. p. 1777.—Pilichdorffius *contra Valdenses*, t. xxv. B. B. Max. Patr.—Add to these authors, Jo. Leger *Histoire Generale des Eglises Vaudoises*, liv. i. ch. xiv. p. 136.—Jo Paul Perrin *Histoire des Vaudois*,

THE attempts of Peter Waldus and his followers were neither employed nor designed to introduce new doctrines into the Church, nor to propose new articles of faith to Christians. All they aimed at was, to reduce the form of Ecclesiastical government, and the lives and manners both of the Clergy and People, to that amiable simplicity, and that primitive sanctity, that characterized the apostolic ages, and which appear so strongly recommended in the precepts and injunctions of the divine author of our holy religion. In consequence of this design, they complained that the Roman Church had degenerated, under Constantine the Great, from its primitive purity and sanctity. They denied the supremacy of the Roman Pontiff, and maintained that the Rulers and Ministers of the Church were obliged, by their vocation, to imitate the poverty of the Apostles, and to procure for themselves a subsistence by the work of their hands. They considered every Christian, as in a certain measure qualified and authorized to instruct, exhort, and confirm the brethren in their christian course, and demanded the restoration of the ancient penitential discipline of the Church, i. e. the expiation of transgressions by prayer, fasting, and alms, which the new invented doctrine of *indulgences* had almost totally abolished. They, at the same time, affirmed, that every pious Christian was
qualified

Vandois, published at Geneva in 1619.—Usserii *De Successione Ecclesiarum Occidentis*, cap. viii. p. 209.—Thom. August. Richini *Dissertat. de Valdensibus*, prefixed to his edition of the *Summa Monetæ*, p. 36.—Boulay *Hist. Acad. Paris*, tom. ii. p. 292.

qualified and entitled to prescribe to the penitent the kind and degree of *satisfaction* or expiation that their transgressions required ; that confession made to priests was by no means necessary, since the humble offender might acknowledge his sins and testify his repentance to any true believer, and might expect from such the counsels and admonitions that his case and circumstances demanded. They maintained, that the power of delivering sinners from the guilt and punishment of their offences, belonged to God alone, and that *indulgences*, of consequence, were the criminal inventions of sordid avarice. They looked upon the prayers, and other ceremonies that were instituted in behalf of the dead, as vain, useless, and absurd, and denied the existence of departed souls in an intermediate state of purification, affirming, that they were immediately, upon their separation from the body, received into heaven, or thrust down into hell. These and other tenets of a like nature composed the system of doctrine propagated by the Waldenses. Their rules of practice were extremely austere ; for they adopted, as the model of their moral discipline, the sermon of Christ on the mount, which they interpreted and explained in the most rigorous and literal manner, and, of consequence, prohibited and condemned in their society all wars and suits of law, all attempts towards the acquisition of wealth, the inflicting of capital punishments, self defence against unjust violence, and oaths of all kinds. (i). The government

(i) See the *Codex Inquisitionis Tolosana*, published by Limborch, as also the *Summa Monetæ contra Waldenses*, and the other writers of the Waldensian history. Though these writers are

vernment of the Church was committed by the Waldenses, to Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons; for they acknowledged, that these three Ecclesiastical Orders were instituted by Christ himself. But they looked upon it as absolutely necessary, that all these orders should resemble exactly the Apostles of the divine Saviour, and be, like them, illiterate, poor, destitute of all worldly possessions, and furnished with some laborious trade or vocation, in order to gain by constant industry their daily subsistence. (k)

are not all equally accurate, nor perfectly agreed about the number of doctrines that entered into the system of this sect, yet they are almost all unanimous in acknowledging the sincere piety and exemplary conduct of the Waldenses, and shew plainly enough that their intention was not to oppose the doctrines that were universally received among Christians, but only to revive the piety and manners of the primitive times, and to combat the vices of the Clergy, and the abuses that had been introduced into the worship and discipline of the Church.

(k) The greatest part of the *Waldenses* gained their livelihood by weaving; hence the whole sect in certain places were called the *Sect of Weavers*.

THE
THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

THE
EXTERNAL HISTORY
OF THE
CHURCH.

CHAP. I.

*Concerning the Prosperous Events that happened to the
Church during this Century.*

THOUGH the successors of Gengis-Kan, the mighty Emperor of the Tartars, or rather of the Mogols, had carried their victorious arms through a great part of *Asia*, and having
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reduced *China*, *India* and *Persia* under their yoke, involved in many calamities and sufferings the Christian assemblies which were established in these vanquished lands; yet we learn from the best accounts, and the most respectable authorities, that both in *China* and in the Northern parts of *Asia*, the Nestorians continued to have a flourishing Church, and a great number of adherents. The Emperors of the Tartars and Mogols had no great aversion to the Christian Religion; nay, it appears from authentic records, that several Kings and Grandees of these nations had either been instructed in the doctrines of the gospel by their ancestors, or were converted to Christianity by the Ministry and exhortations of the Nestorians. But the religion of Mahomet, which was so adapted to flatter the passions of men, infected, by degrees, these noble converts, opposed with success the progress of the gospel, and, in process of time, triumphed over it so far, that not the least glimpse, or remains of Christianity were to be perceived in the courts of these Eastern Princes.

THE Roman Pontiffs employed their most zealous and assiduous efforts in the support of the Christian cause in *Palestine*, which was now in a most declining or rather in a desperate state. They had learned, by a delicious experience, how much these Asiatic wars, undertaken from a principle, or at least carried on under a pretext of religion, had contributed to fill their coffers, augment their authority, and cover them with glory; and therefore they had nothing more at heart than

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the renewal and prolongation of these sacred expeditions. (a) Innocent III. therefore, founded the charge ; but the greatest part of the European Princes and nations were deaf to the voice of the holy trumpet. At length, however, after many unsuccessful attempts in different countries, a certain number of French Nobles entered into an alliance with the Republic of *Venice*, and set sail for the East with an army that was far from being formidable. Besides, the event of this new expedition was by no means answerable to the expectations of the Pontiff. The French and Venetians, instead of steering their course towards *Palestine*, sailed directly for *Constantinople*, and, in the year 1203, took that imperial city by storm, with a design to restore to the throne Isaac Angelus, who implored their succour against the violence of his brother Alexius, who had usurped the empire. The year following a dreadful sedition was raised at *Constantinople*, in which the Emperor Isaac was put to death, and his son the young Alexius was strangled by Alexius Ducas, the ring-leader of this furious faction. (b) The account of this parricide no sooner came to the ears of the Chiefs of the Crusade, than they made themselves masters of *Constantinople* for the second time, dethroned and drove from the city the tyrant Ducas, and elected Baldwin, Count

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(a) This is remarked by the writers of the twelfth century, who had so soon perceived the avaricious and despotic views of the Pontiffs in the encouragement they gave to the crusades. See Matth. Paris, *Hist. Major*, p. 174, 364. *et passim*.

(b) The learned authors of the *Universal History* call this Ring-leader, by mistake, John Ducas.

of *Flanders*, Emperor of the Greeks. This proceeding was a source of new divisions; for about two years after this the Greeks resolved to set up, in opposition to this Latin Emperor, one of their own nation, and elected for that purpose Theodore Lascaris, who chose *Nice* in *Bithynia* for the place of his imperial residence. From this period until the year 1261, two Emperors reigned over the Greeks; the one of their own nation, who resided at *Nice*; and the other of Latin or French extraction, who lived at *Constantinople*, the ancient metropolis of the empire. But in the year 1261, the face of things was changed by the Grecian Emperor Michael Palæologus, who, by the valour and stratagems of his general Cæsar Alexius, became master of *Constantinople*, and forced the Latin Emperor Baldwin II. to abandon that city, and save himself by flight into *Italy*. Thus fell the Empire of the Franks at *Constantinople*, after a duration of fifty-seven years. (c)

THE legates and missionaries of the court of *Rome* still continued to animate the languishing zeal of the European Princes in behalf of the Christian cause in *Palestine*, and to revive the spirit of crusading, which so many calamities and disasters had almost totally extinguished. At length, in consequence of their lively remonstrances, a new army was raised,

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(c) See for a full account of this empire, Du Fresne, *Histoire de l'Empire de Constantinople sous les Empereurs François*; in the former part of which we find the *Histoire de la Ville de Constantinople par les François*, written by Godfrey De Ville Harduin, one of the French chiefs concerned in the expedition. This work makes a part of the Byzantine history.

and a new expedition undertaken ; this army was to be commanded by the Emperor Frederic II. That Prince had, indeed, obliged himself by a solemn promise made to the Roman Pontiff, to take upon him the direction of this expedition ; and what added a new degree of force to this engagement, and seemed to render the violation of it impossible, was the marriage that Frederic had contracted, in the year 1223, with Jolanda, daughter of John, count of *Brienne*, and King of *Jerusalem*, by which alliance that kingdom was to be added to his European dominions. Yet, notwithstanding all this, the Emperor put off his voyage from time to time under various pretexts, and did not set out until the year 1228, when, after having been excommunicated on account of his delay by the incensed Pontiff Gregory IX. (d), he followed with a small train of attendants to the troops, who expected, with the most anxious impatience, his arrival in *Palestine*. No sooner did he land in that disputed kingdom, than, instead of carrying on the war with vigour, he turned all his thoughts towards peace, and, without consulting the

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(d) This papal excommunication, which was drawn up in the most outrageous and indecent language, was so far from exciting Frederic to accelerate his departure for *Palestine*, that it produced no effect upon him at all, and was, on the contrary, received with the utmost contempt. He defended himself by his Ambassador at *Rome*, and shewed that the reasons of his delay were solid and just, and not mere pretexts as the Pope had pretended. At the same time, he wrote a remarkable letter to Henry III. King of *England*, in which he complains of the insatiable avarice, the boundless ambition, the perfidious and hypocritical proceedings of the Roman Pontiffs. See Fleury, *Histoire Ecclesiastique*, livr. lxxix. tom. xvi. p. 501. edit. *Bruxelles*.

other Princes and Chiefs of the Crusade, concluded, in the year 1229, a treaty of peace, or rather a truce of ten years, with Melic Camel, Sultan of *Egypt*. The principal thing stipulated in this treaty was, that Frederick should be put in possession of the city and kingdom of *Jerusalem*: this condition was immediately executed; and the Emperor, entering into the city with great pomp, and accompanied by a numerous train, placed the crown upon his head with his own hands, and, having thus settled matters in *Palestine*, he returned without delay into *Italy*, to appease the discords and commotions which the vindictive and ambitious Pontiff had excited there in his absence. So that, in reality, notwithstanding all the reproaches that were cast upon the Emperor by the Pope and his creatures, this expedition was by far the most successful of any that had yet been undertaken against the infidels.

THE affairs of the Christians in the East declined from day to day. Intestine discords and ill-conducted expeditions had reduced them almost to the last extremity, when Lewis IX. King of *France*, who was canonized after his death, and is still worshipped with the utmost devotion, attempted their restoration. It was in consequence of a vow, which this Prince had made in the year 1248, when he was seized with a painful and dangerous illness, that he undertook this arduous task, and, in the execution of it, he set sail for *Egypt*: with a formidable army and a numerous fleet, from a notion that the conquest of this province would enable him to carry on the war in *Syria* and *Palestine* with more facility and success.

cess. The first attempts of the zealous Monarch were crowned with victory: for *Damietta*, that famous Egyptian city, yielded to his arms; but the smiling prospect was soon changed, and the progress of the war presented one uniform scene of calamity and desolation. The united horrors of famine and pestilence overwhelmed the royal army, whose provisions were cut off by the Mahometans, in the year 1250; Robert, Earl of *Artois*, the King's own brother, having surprized the Saracen army, and, through an excess of valour, pursued them too far, was slain in the engagement; and, a few days after, the King himself, with two more of his brothers, and the greatest part of his army, were taken prisoners in a bloody action, after a bold and obstinate resistance. This valiant monarch, who was endowed with true greatness of mind, and who was extremely pious, though after the manner that prevailed in this age of superstition and darkness, was ransomed at an immense price, (about 190,000*l.* sterling,) and after having spent about four years in *Palestine*, returned into *France*, in the year 1254, with a handful of men, the miserable remains of his formidable army.

No calamities could deject the courage nor damp the invincible spirit of Lewis; nor did he look upon his vow as fulfilled by what he had already done in *Palestine*. He therefore revolved upon a new expedition, fitted out a formidable fleet, with which he set sail for *Africa*, and proposed to begin in that part of the world his operations against the infidels, that he might either convert them to the Christian faith, or draw
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from their treasures the means of carrying on more effectually the war in *Asia*. He made himself master of the fort of *Carthage*; but this first success was soon followed by a fatal change in his affairs. A pestilential disease broke out in the fleet, in the harbour of *Tunis*, carried off the greatest part of the army, and seized, at length, the monarch himself, who fell a victim to its rage, on the 25th of August, in the year 1270. Lewis was the last of the European princes, that embarked in the holy war; the dangers and difficulties, the calamities and disorders, and the enormous expences that accompanied each crusade, disgusted the most zealous, and discouraged the most intrepid promoters of these fanatical expeditions. In consequence of this, the Latin empire in the East declined apace, notwithstanding the efforts of the Roman Pontiffs to maintain and support it; and in the year 1291, after the taking of *Ptolomais*, or *Acra*, by the Mahometans, it was entirely overthrown. (c) It is natural to enquire into the true causes, that contributed to this unhappy revolution in *Palestine*; and these causes are evident. We must not seek for them either in the counsels or in the valour of the infidels, but in the dissensions that reigned in the Christian armies, in the profligate lives of those, who called themselves the champions of the cross, and in the ignorance and obstinacy, the avarice and insolence of the Pope's legates.

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(c) Ant. Matthæi *Analecta veteris ævi*, tom. v. p. 748. Jac. Echardi *Scriptores Dominicani*, tom. i. p. 422. Imola in *Dante*, in Muratorii *Antiq. Italicae medii ævi*, tom. i. p. 1111, 1112.

IN *Spain* the cause of the gospel gained ground from day to day. The Kings of *Castile*, *Leon*, *Navarre*, and *Arragon*, waged perpetual war with the Saracen princes, who held still under their dominion the kingdoms of *Valentia*, *Granada* and *Murcia*, together with the province of *Andalusia*; and this war was carried on with such success, that the Saracen dominion declined apace, and was daily reduced within narrower bounds, while the limits of the Church were extended on every side. The Princes that contributed principally to this happy revolution were Ferdinand King of *Leon* and *Castile*, who, after his death, obtained a place in the Kalendar with his father Alphonfus IX. King of *Leon*, and James I. King of *Arragon*. The latter, more especially, distinguished himself eminently by his fervent zeal for the advancement of Christianity; for no sooner had he made himself master of *Valentia* in the year 1236, than he employed, with the greatest pains and assiduity, every possible method of converting to the faith his Arabian subjects, whose expulsion would have been an irreparable loss to his kingdom. For this purpose he ordered the Dominicans, whose ministry he made use of principally in this salutary work, to learn the Arabic tongue; and he founded public schools at *Majorca* and *Barcelona*, in which a considerable number of youth were educated in a manner that might enable them to preach the gospel in that language. When these pious efforts were found to be ineffectual, the Roman Pontiff Clement IV. exhorted the King to drive the Mahometans out of *Spain*. The obsequious prince followed the coun-

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fel of the inconsiderate Pontiff; in the execution of which, however, he met with much difficulty, both from the opposition which the Spanish nobles made to it on the one hand, and from the obstinacy of the Moors on the other. (f)

(f) See Geddes, *his history of the Expulsion of the Moriscoes*, in his *Miscellaneous Tracts*, vol. i. p. 26.

C H A P. II.

Concerning the Doctors and Ministers of the Church, and its form of Government, during this Thirteenth Century.

BOTH the Greek and Latin writers, provoked, beyond measure, by the flagitious lives of their spiritual rulers and instructors, complain loudly of their licentious manners, and load them with the severest reproaches; nor will these complaints and reproaches appear excessive to such as are acquainted with the history of this corrupt and superstitious age. (g) Several eminent men attempted to stem this torrent of licentiousness, which from the heads of the Church had carried its pernicious streams through all the members; but their power and influence were unequal to such a difficult and arduous enterprize. The Grecian Emperors were prevented from executing any project of this kind by the infelicity of the times, and the various calamities and tumults, that not only reigned in their dominions, but even shook the throne on which they

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(g) See the remarkable letter of the Roman Pontiff Gregory IX. to the Archbishop of *Bourges*, which was written in the year 1227, with a design to reprove and reform the vices which had infested all the various orders of the Clergy, and which is published by Dion. Sammarthanus, in his *Gallia Christiana*, tom. ii. in *Append.* p. 21. See also Du Fresne, *Adnotat. in Vitam Ludovici Sancti.* p. 99.

fat ; while the power and opulence of the Roman Pontiffs and the superstition of the age hindered the Latins from accomplishing or even attempting, a reformation in the Church.

THE history of the Popes presents a lively and horrible picture of the complicated crimes that dishonoured the Ministers of the Church, who were peculiarly obliged, by their sacred office, to exhibit to the world distinguished models of piety and virtue. Such of the Sacerdotal Orders as were advanced to places of authority in the Church, behaved rather like tyrants than rulers, and shewed manifestly, in all their conduct, that they aimed at an absolute and unlimited dominion. The Popes, more especially, inculcated that pernicious maxim, " That the Bishop of *Rome* is the supreme Lord of the Universe, and that neither Princes nor Bishops, civil governors, nor Ecclesiastical rulers, have any lawful power in Church or State but what they derive from him." This extravagant maxim, which was considered as the sum and substance of Papal jurisprudence, the Roman Pontiffs maintained obstinately, and left no means unemployed, that perfidy or violence could suggest, to give it the force of universal law. It was in consequence of this arrogant pretension, that they not only claimed the right of disposing of Ecclesiastical *Benefices*, as they are commonly called, but also of conferring civil dominion, and of dethroning Kings and Emperors, according to their good pleasure. It is true, this maxim was far from being universally adopted ; many placed the authority of councils above that of the Pontiffs, and such of the European Kings

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and Princes as were not ingloriously blinded, and enslaved by the superstition of the times, asserted their rights with dignity and success, excluded the Pontiffs from all concern in their civil transactions, nay, even reserved to themselves the supremacy over the Churches that were established in their dominions. (h) In opposing thus the haughty pretensions of the lordly Pontiffs, it was, indeed, necessary to proceed with mildness, caution and prudence, on account of the influence which these spiritual tyrants had usurped over the minds of the people, and the power they had of alarming Princes, by exciting their subjects to rebellion.

In order to establish their authority, both in civil and ecclesiastical matters, upon the firmest foundations, the Roman Pontiffs assumed to themselves the power of disposing of the various offices of the Church, whether of a higher or more subordinate nature, and of creating *Bishops*, *Abbots*, and *Canons*, according to their fancy. Thus we see the ghostly heads of the Church, who formerly disputed with such ardour against the Emperors in favour of the free election of Bishops and Abbots, overturning now all the laws that related to the election of these spiritual rulers, reserving for themselves the revenues

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(h) As a specimen of this, the reader may peruse the letters of Innocent III. and the Emperor Otho IV. which have been collected by the learned George Christ. Gebauer, in his *History of the Emperor Richard*, written in German, p. 611—614. Other Princes, and more especially the Kings of *England* and *France*, displayed in the defence of their rights and privileges the same zeal that animated Otho.

of the richest benefices, conferring vacant places upon their clients and their creatures, nay, often deposing Bishops that had been duly and lawfully elected, and substituting with a high hand, others in their room (i) The hypocritical pretexts for all these arbitrary proceedings were an ardent zeal for the welfare of the Church, and an anxious concern, lest devouring *heretics* should get a footing among the flock of Christ. (k) The first of the Pontiffs who usurped such an extravagant extent of authority, was Innocent III. whose example was followed by Honorius III. Gregory IX. and several of their successors. But it was keenly opposed by the Bishops, who had hitherto enjoyed the privileges of nominating to the smaller benefices, and, still more effectually by the Kings of *England* and *France*, who employed the force of warm remonstrances and vigorous edicts to stop the progress of this new jurisprudence. (l) Lewis IX. King of *France*, and now the tutelar Saint of that nation, distinguished himself by the noble opposition he made to these papal encroachments. In the year 1268, before he set out for the Holy Land, he secured the rights of the Gallican Church against the insidious attempts of the Roman Pontiffs, by that famous edict

(i) Many examples of this may be taken from the history of this century. See Steph. Baluzii *Miscellan.* tom. vii. p. 443, 466, 470, 488, 491, 493. *Gallia Christiana*, tom. i. p. 69. *Append. Luc. Waddingi Annal. Minor. in Diplom.* Wood, *Antiquit. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 148, 201, 202.

(k) See the Epistle of Innocent IV. in Baluz. *Miscellan.* tom. vii. p. 468.

(l) Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris*, tom. iii. p. 659, and principally tom. iv. p. 911.

edict known in *France*, by the name of the *Pragmatic Sanction*. (m) This resolute and prudent measure rendered the Pontiffs more cautious and slow in their proceedings, but did not terrify them from the prosecution of their purpose. For Boniface VIII. maintained, in the most express and impudent terms, that the Universal Church was under the dominion of the Pontiffs, and that Princes and Lay-patrons, Councils and Chapters, had no more power in spiritual things, than what they derived from Christ's Vicar upon earth.

THE legates, whom the Pontiffs sent into the provinces, to represent their persons, and execute their orders, imitated perfectly the avarice and insolence of their masters. They violated the privileges of the Chapters; disposed of the smaller, and sometimes of the more important Ecclesiastical Benefices, in favour of such as had gained them by bribes, or such-like considerations; (n) extorted money from the people by the vilest and most iniquitous means; seduced the unwary by forged letters and other stratagems of that nature; excited tumults among the multitude, and were, themselves, the ring-leaders of the most furious and rebellious factions; carried on, in the most scandalous manner, the impious traffic of *relics* and *indulgences*, and distinguished themselves by several acts of profligacy still more heinous than the practices now mentioned. Hence we find the writers of this age complaining unanimously of the flagitious conduct and the enormous crimes

(m) Idem, *ib.* p. 339.

(n) See Baluzii *Miscellanea*, tom. vii. p. 437, 475, 480, &c.

crimes of the Pope's legates. (o) Nay, we see the Roman Pontiff Alexander IV. enacting in the year 1256, a severe law against the avarice and frauds of these corrupt ministers, (p) which, however, they easily evaded, by their friends and their credit at the court of *Rome*.

FROM the IXth century to this period, the wealth and revenues of the Pontiffs had not received any considerable augmentation; but at this time they were vastly increased under Innocent III. and Nicolas III. partly by the events of war, and partly by the munificence of Kings and Emperors. Innocent was no sooner seated in the papal chair, than he reduced under his jurisdiction the prefect of *Rome*, who had hitherto been considered as subject to the Emperor, to whom he had taken an oath of allegiance in entering upon his office. He also seized upon *Ancona*, *Spoletto*, *Affisi*, and several cities and fortresses which had, according to him, been unjustly alienated from the patrimony of St. Peter. On the other hand, Frederic II. who was extremely desirous that the Pope should espouse his quarrel with Otho IV. loaded the Roman See with the richest marks of his munificence and liberality, and not only made a noble present in valuable lands to the Pope's brother,

(o) See that judicious and excellent writer Matth. Paris, in his *Historia Major*, p. 313, 316, 549, and particularly p. 637. where we find the following remarkable words: *Semper solent legati quales, et omnes nuncii papales regna quæ ingrediuntur depauperare, vel aliquo modo perturbare. See also Boulay, Histor. Acad. Paris, tom. iii. p. 659.*

(p) This edict is published by Lami, in his *Delicia Eruditorum*, tom. ii. p. 300.

ther, but also permitted Richard Count of *Fundi* to leave, by will, all his possessions to the Roman See, (q) and confirmed the immense donation that had formerly been made to it by the opulent Matilda. Such was the progress that Innocent III. made, during his pontificate, in augmenting the splendor and wealth of the Church. Nicolas IV. followed his example with the warmest emulation, and, in the year 1278, gave a remarkable proof of his arrogance and obstinacy, in refusing to crown the Emperor Rodolphus I. before he had acknowledged and confirmed, by a solemn treaty, all the pretensions of the Roman See, of which, if some were plausible, the greatest part were altogether groundless, or, at least, extremely dubious. This agreement, to which all the Italian Princes, that were subject to the Emperor, were obliged to accede, was no sooner concluded, than Nicolas reduced under his temporal dominion several cities and territories in *Italy*, that had formerly been annexed to the Imperial crown, particularly *Romania* and *Bologna*. It was therefore under these two Pontiffs, that the See of *Rome* arrived, partly by force, and partly by artifice, at that high degree of grandeur and opulence, which it yet maintains in our times. (r)

INNOCENT III. who remained at the head of the Church until the year 1216, followed the steps of Gregory VII. and
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(q) Odor. Raynaldus, *Continuat. Annal. Baronii, ad A. 1212, f. ii.*

(r) See Raynaldus, *loc. cit. ad A. 1278, f. 47.*

not only usurped the despotic government of the Church, but also claimed the Empire of the world, and thought of nothing less than subjecting the Kings and Princes of the Earth to his lordly Scepter. He was a man of learning and application; but his cruelty, avarice, and arrogance (s) clouded the lustre of any good qualities, which his panegyrists have thought proper to attribute to him. In *Asia* and *Europe*, he disposed of crown and scepters with the most wanton ambition. In *Asia*, he gave a King to the Armenians; in *Europe*, he usurped the same extravagant privilege in the year 1204, and conferred the regal dignity upon Primislaus, Duke of Bohemia. The same year he sent to Johannicius, Duke of *Bulgaria* and *Walachia*, an extraordinary legate, who, in the name of the Pontiff, invested that Prince with the ensigns and honours of royalty, while with his own hand, he crowned Peter II. of *Aragon*, who had rendered his dominion subject and tributary to the Church, and saluted him publicly at *Rome* with the title of King. We omit many other examples of this frenetic pretension to universal empire, which might be produced from the *letters* of this arrogant Pontiff, and many other acts of despotism, which *Europe* beheld with astonishment, but also, to its eternal reproach, with the ignominious silence of a passive obedience.

THE ambition of this Pope was not satisfied with the distribution and government of these petty kingdoms. He extended his views farther, and resolved to render the power and majesty

(s) See Matth. *Hist. Major*, p. 206, 230.

majesty of the Roman See formidable to the greatest European Monarchs, and even to the Emperors themselves. When the empire of *Germany* was disputed towards the commencement of this century, between Philip Duke of *Swabia*, and Otho IV. third son of Henry Lion, he espoused, at first, the cause of Otho, thundered out his excommunications against Philip, and, upon the death of the latter, which happened in the year 1209, he placed the imperial diadem upon the head of his adversary. But as Otho was by no means disposed to submit to this Pontiff's nod, or to satisfy to the full his ambitious desires, he incurred, of consequence, his lordly indignation; and Innocent declaring him, by a solemn excommunication, unworthy of the Empire, raised in his place Frederic II. his pupil, the son of Henry VI. and King of the two *Sicilies*, to the Imperial throne in the year 1212. (t) The same Pontiff excommunicated Philip Augustus, King of *France*, for having dissolved his marriage with Ingerburg, a Princess of *Denmark*, and espoused another in her place; nor did he cease to pursue this monarch with his anathemas, until he engaged to receive the divorced Queen, and to restore her to her lost dignity. (u)

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(t) All this is amply illustrated in the *Origines Guelphicæ*, tom. iii. lib. vii. p. 247.

(u) Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris*, tom. iii. p. 8.—Daniel *Histoire de la France*, tom. iii. p. 475.—Gerhard. Du Bois, *Hist. Eccles. Paris*, tom. ii. p. 204,—257.

BUT of all the European Princes none felt, in so dishonourable and severe a manner, the despotic fury of this insolent Pontiff as John, surnamed *Sans terre*, King of *England*. This Prince opposed vigorously the measures of Innocent, who had ordered the Monks of *Canterbury* to chuse Stephen Langton, a Roman Cardinal of English descent, Archbishop of that See, notwithstanding the election of John De Grey to that high dignity, which had been regularly made by the convent, and had been confirmed by royal authority. The Pope, after having consecrated Langton at *Viterbo*, wrote a soothing letter in his favour, to the King, accompanied with four rings, and a mystical comment upon the precious stones with which they were enriched. But this present was not sufficient to avert the just indignation of the offended Monarch, who sent a body of troops to drive out of the kingdom the Monks of *Canterbury*, who had been engaged by the Pope's menaces to receive Langton as their Archbishop. The King also declared to the Pontiff, that, if he persisted in imposing a Prelate upon the See of *Canterbury*, in opposition to a regular election already made, the consequence of such presumptuous obstinacy would, in the issue, prove fatal to the papal authority in *England*. Innocent was so far from being terrified by this menacing remonstrance, that in the year 1208, he sent orders to the Bishops of *London*, *Worcester*, and *Ely*, to lay the kingdom under an *interdict*, in case the Monarch refused to yield and to receive Langton. John, alarmed at this terrible menace, and unwilling to break entirely with the Pope, declared his readiness to confirm the election made at *Rome*; but, in the
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act that was drawn up for this purpose, he wisely threw in a clause to prevent any interpretation of this compliance, that might be prejudicial to his rights, dignity and prerogative. This exception was rejected, and the *interdict* was proclaimed. A stop was immediately put to divine service; the churches were shut; the administration of all the sacraments was suspended except that of baptism; the dead were buried in the high-ways without the usual rites or any funeral solemnity. But, notwithstanding this interdict, the Cistercian order continued to perform divine service, and several learned and respectable divines, among which were the Bishops of *Winchester* and *Norwich*, protested against the injustice of the Pope's proceedings.

THE interdict not producing the effects that were expected from it, the Pontiff proceeded to a still farther degree of severity and presumption, and denounced a sentence of excommunication against the person of the English Monarch. This sentence, which was issued out in the year 1208, was followed about three years after by a Bull, absolving all his subjects from their oath of allegiance, and ordering all persons to avoid him on pain of excommunication. But it was in the year 1212, that Innocent carried his impious tyranny to the most enormous length, when, assembling a council of Cardinals and Prelates, he deposed John, declared the throne of *England* vacant, and wrote to Philip Augustus, King of *France*, to execute this sentence, to undertake the conquest of *England*, and to unite that kingdom to his dominions for ever. He, at

the same time, published another Bull, exhorting all Christian Princes to contribute whatever was in their power to the success of this expedition, promising such as seconded Philip in this grand enterprize the same indulgences that were granted to those who carried arms against the infidels in *Palestine*. The French Monarch entered into the views of the Roman Pontiff, and made immense preparations for the invasion of *England*. The King of *England*, on the other hand, assembled his forces, and was putting himself in a posture of defence, when Pandulf, the Pope's legate, arrived at *Dover*, and proposed a conference in order to prevent the approaching rupture, and to conjure the storm. This artful legate terrified the King, (who met him at that place,) with an exaggerated account of the armament of Philip on the one hand, and of the disaffection of the English on the other; and persuaded him that there was no possible way left of saving his dominions from the formidable arms of the French King, but that of putting them under the protection of the Roman See. John, finding himself in such a perplexing situation, and full of diffidence both in the nobles of his court and in the officers of his army, complied with this dishonourable proposal, did homage to Innocent, resigned his crown to the legate, and received it again as a present from the See of *Rome*, to which he rendered his kingdoms tributary, and swore fealty as a vassal and feudatory. (w) In the act by which he resigned, thus scandalously,

(w) For a full account of this shameful ceremony, see Matthew Paris, *Historia Major*, p. 189, 192, 195. As also Boulay, *Histor. Acad. Paris*, tom. iii. p. 67. Rapin Thoyras, *Histoire d'Angleterre*, tom. ii. p. 304.

dalously, his kingdoms to the papal jurisdiction, he declared that he had neither been compelled to this measure by fear nor by force, but that it was his own voluntary deed, performed by the advice, and with the consent of the Barons of his kingdom. He obliged himself and his heirs to pay an annual sum of seven hundred marks for *England*, and three hundred for *Ireland*, in acknowledgment of the Pope's supremacy and jurisdiction; and consented that he or such of his successors as should refuse to pay the submission, now stipulated, to the See of *Rome*, should forfeit all their right to the British crown. (x) " This shameful ceremony was performed, " says a modern historian (y), on Ascension day, in the house " of the Templars at *Dover*, in the midst of a great concourse " of people, who beheld it with confusion and indignation. " John, in doing homage to the Pope, presented a sum of " money to his representative, which the proud legate trampled under his feet, as a mark of the King's dependence. " Every spectator glowed with resentment, and the Archbishop of *Dublin* exclaimed aloud against such intolerable " insolence. Pandulf, not satisfied with this mortifying act " of superiority, kept the crown and scepter five whole days, " and then restored them as a special favour of the Roman " See. John was despised before this extraordinary resignation ;

(x) *Cadet a jure regni*, is the expression used in the *Charter of Resignation*, which may be seen at length in the *Hist. Major* of Matthew Paris.

(y) See Dr. Smollet's *History of England*, Vol. i. p. 437.

“tion ; but now he was looked upon as a contemptible
“wretch, unworthy to sit upon a throne ; while he himself
“seemed altogether insensible of his disgrace.”

INNOCENT III. was succeeded in the Pontificate by Concio Savelli, who assumed the title of Honorius III. ruled the Church about ten years, and whose government, though not signalized by such audacious exploits, as those of his predecessors, discovered, nevertheless, an ardent zeal for maintaining the pretensions, and supporting the despotism of the Roman See.

In the year 1227, Hugolinus, Bishop of *Osia*, whose advanced age had not extinguished the fire of his ambition, nor diminished the firmness and obstinacy of his spirit, was raised to the Pontificate, assumed the title of Gregory IX. and kindled the feuds and dissensions, that had already secretly subsisted between the Church and the Empire, into an open and violent flame. No sooner was he placed in the papal chair, than, contrary to all justice and order, he excommunicated the Emperor for putting off his expedition against the Saracens another year, though that delay was manifestly owing to a fit of sickness, which seized that Prince when he was ready to embark for *Palestine*. In the year 1228, Frederic at last set out and arrived in the Holy Land, as we have already observed. The pretended Vicar of Christ, forgetting (or rather unwilling to persuade himself) that his master's *kingdom*
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was not of this world, made war upon the Emperor in *Apulia* during his absence (2), and used his utmost efforts to arm against him all the European powers. Frederic, having received information of these perfidious and violent proceedings, returned into *Europe* in the year 1229, defeated the papal army, retook the places he had lost in *Sicily* and in *Italy*, and the year following made his peace with the Pontiff, from whom he received a public and solemn absolution. This peace, however, was but of a short duration; nor was it possible for the Emperor to bear the insolent proceedings, and the imperious temper of Gregory. He therefore broke all measures with that head-strong Pontiff, distressed the states of *Lombardy* that were in alliance with the See of *Rome*, seized upon the island of *Sardinia*, which Gregory looked upon as a part of his spiritual patrimony, and erected it into a kingdom for his Entius. These, with other steps that were equally provoking to the avarice and ambition of Gregory, drew the thunder of the Vatican anew upon the Emperor's head, in the year 1239. Frederic was excommunicated publicly with all the circumstances of severity that vindictive rage that invent, and was charged with the most flagitious crimes, and the most impious blasphemies, by the exasperated Pontiff, who sent a copy of this terrible accusation to all the courts of *Europe*. The Emperor, on the other hand, defended his injured reputation by solemn declarations in writing,

(2) Under the feeble reign of Henry III. the Pope drew immense sums out of *England* for the support of this impious war, and carried his audacious avarice so far, as to demand the fifth part of the Ecclesiastical revenues of the whole kingdom.

ing, while, by his victorious arms, he avenged himself of his adversaries, maintained his ground, and reduced the Pontiff to the greatest straits. To get rid of these difficulties, the latter convened, in the year 1240, a general council at *Rome*, with a view to depose Frederic by the unanimous suffrages of the Cardinals and Prelates, that were to compose that assembly. But the Emperor disconcerted that audacious project by defeating, in the year 1241, a Genoese fleet, on board of which the greatest part of these Prelates were embarked, and by seizing, with all their treasures, these reverend fathers, who were all committed to close confinement. This disappointment, attended with others which gave an unhappy turn to his affairs, and blasted his most promising expectations, dejected and consumed the despairing Pontiff, and contributed probably to the conclusion of his days, which happened soon after this remarkable event. (a)

GREGORY, Bishop of *Milan*, who succeeded Gregory IX. under the title of Celestine IV. died before his consecration, and, after a vacancy of twenty months, the Apostolic stool was filled by Sinibald, one of the Counts of *Fiesque*, who was raised

(a) Besides the original and authentic authors collected by Muratori, in his *Scriptores rerum Italicarum*, and the German and Italian historians, few or none of whom are absolutely void of partiality in their accounts of these unhappy contests between the empire and the papacy, see Petrus De Vincis, *Epistol. lib. i. & Matth. Paris, Historia Major*. Add to these Raynaldi *Annal.*—Muratori *Annal. Italica*, tom. vii. & *Antiquit. Italic.* tom. iv. P. 325, 517.

raised to the Pontificate in the year 1243, assumed the denomination of Innocent IV. and yielded to none of his predecessors in arrogance and fury. (b) His elevation, however, offered at first a prospect of peace, as he had formerly been attached to the interests of the Emperor, and accordingly the conferences were opened, and a reconciliation was proposed; but the terms offered by the new Pope were too imperious and extravagant, not to be rejected with indignation by the Emperor. (c) Hence it was that Innocent, not thinking himself safe in any part of *Italy*, fet out from *Genoa*, the place of his birth, for *Lyons* in the year 1244, and, assembling there a council the following year, deposed, in their presence, though not with their approbation, the Emperor Frederic, and declared the imperial throne vacant. (d) This unjust and insolent measure was regarded with such veneration, and looked upon as so weighty by the German Princes, seduced and blinded by the superstition of the times, that they proceeded instantly to a new election, and raised first, Henry, Landgrave of *Thuringia*, and after his death, William Count of *Holland*, to the head of the empire. Frederic, whose firm

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(b) See Matth. Paris, *Historia Major*, ad A. 1254. p. 771.

(c) These preliminary conditions were: I. That the Emperor should give up entirely to the Church the inheritance which was left to it by Matilda; and II. That he would oblige himself to submit to whatever terms the Pope should think fit to propose as conditions of peace.

(d) This assembly is placed in the list of *œcumenical*, or general councils; but it is not acknowledged as such by the Gallican Church.

and heroic spirit supported without dejection these cruel vicissitudes, continued to carry on the war in *Italy*, until a violent dysentery ended his days in *Apulia* the 13th of December, 1250. Upon the death of his formidable and magnanimous adversary, Innocent returned into *Italy*, (e) hoping, now to enjoy with security the fruits of his ambition. It was principally from this period, that the two famous factions, called *Guelphs* and *Ghibelines*, of which the latter espoused the cause of the Emperors, and the former that of the Pontiffs, involved all the Italian States in the most fatal dissensions, though their origin is much earlier than this century. (f)

BENEDICT Cajetan, who had persuaded the good Pontiff Celestine V. to resign his place, succeeded him in it in the year 1294, and took the name of Boniface VIII. We may say with truth, of this unworthy Prelate, that he was born to be a plague both to Church and State, a disturber of the repose of nations, and that his attempts to extend and confirm the despotism of the Roman Pontiffs, were carried to a length that approached to frenzy. From the moment that he entered upon his new dignity, he laid claim to a supreme and irresistible dominion over all the powers of the earth, both spiritual
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(e) Besides the writers already mentioned, see Nicol. de Curbio, *Vita Innocentii IV.* in Baluzii *Miscellan.* tom. vii. p. 353.

(f) See Muratorii *Dissertat. de Guelphis et Ghibellinis*, in his *Antiq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. iv. p. 606.

and temporal, terrified kingdoms and empires with the thunder of his bulls, called Princes and Sovereign States before his tribunal to decide their quarrels, augmented the Papal jurisprudence with a new body of laws, which was entitled, *the Sixth Book of the Decretals*, declared war against the illustrious family of *Colonna*, who disputed his title to the Pontificate ; (g) in a word, exhibited to the Church, and to *Europe*, a lively image of the tyrannical administration of Gregory VII. whom he perhaps surpassed in arrogance. It was this Pontiff that, in the year 1300, instituted the famous Jubilee, which, since that time, has been regularly celebrated in the Roman Church at certain fixed periods. But the consideration of this institution, which was so favourable to the progress of licentiousness and corruption, as also the other exploits of Boniface, and his deplorable end, belong to the history of the following century. (h)

(g) The reasons they alledged for disputing the title of Boniface to the Pontificate were, that the resignation of Celestin was not *canonical*, and, moreover, that it was brought about by fraudulent means.

(h) In this account of the Popes, I have chiefly followed Daniel Papebroch, Francis Pagi, and Muratori, in his *Annales Italiae*, consulting, at the same time, the original sources collected by the last mentioned author, in his *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*.

C H A P. III.

*Concerning the Doctrine of the Christian Church during
the Thirteenth Century.*

HOWEVER numerous and deplorable the corruptions and superstitious abuses were, that had hitherto reigned in the Church, and deformed the beautiful simplicity of the Gospel, they were nevertheless increased in this century, instead of being reformed, and the religion of Christ continued to suffer under the growing tyranny of fanaticism and superstition. The progress of reason and truth was retarded among the Latins, by their blind admiration of whatever bore the stamp of antiquity, the indolence of their Bishops, the stupidity of their Clergy, and the calamities of the times. Among the Latins, many concurring causes united to augment the darkness of that cloud that had already been cast over the divine lustre of genuine Christianity. On the one hand, the Roman Pontiffs could not bear the thoughts of any thing that might have the remotest tendency to diminish their authority, or to encroach upon their prerogatives; and therefore they laboured assiduously to keep the multitude in the dark, and to blast every attempt that was made towards a reformation in the doctrine of the Church. On the other hand, the School-divines, among whom the Dominican and Fran-

Franciscan Monks made the greatest figure on account of their unintelligible jargon and subtilty, shed perplexity and darkness over the plain truths of religion by their intricate distinctions, and endless divisions, and by that cavilling, quibbling, disputatious spirit, that is the mortal enemy both of truth and virtue. It is true, that these scholastic Doctors were not all equally chargeable with corrupting the truth; the most enormous and criminal corrupters of Christianity were those who led the multitude into the following abominable errors: that it was in the power of man to perform, if he pleased, a more perfect obedience than God required; and that the whole of religion consisted in an external air of gravity, and in certain composed bodily gestures.

It will be easy to confirm this general account of the state of religion by particular facts. In the IV. council of the Lateran that was held by Innocent III. in the year 1215, and at which a prodigious number of ecclesiastics were assembled, that imperious Pontiff, without deigning to consult any body, published no less than seventy laws or decrees, by which not only the authority of the Popes and the power of the Clergy were confirmed and extended, but also new doctrines, or *articles of faith*, were imposed upon Christians. It was reserved for Innocent to put an end to the liberty, which every Christian had hitherto enjoyed. This audacious Pontiff pronounced the opinion that is embraced at this day in the Church of *Rome* relating to the *Eucharist*, (the most monstrous doctrine that the frenzy of superstition was capable of inventing) to be the only

only true and orthodox account of the matter ; and he *had the honour* of introducing and establishing the use of the term *Transubstantiation*, which was hitherto absolutely unknown.

(i) The same Pontiff placed, by his own authority, among the duties prescribed by the divine laws, that of *auricular confession* to a Priest ; a confession that implied not only a general acknowledgment, but also a particular enumeration of the sins and follies of the penitent. Though the confession of sins was justly looked upon as an essential duty, yet it was left to every Christian's choice, to make this confession mentally to the Supreme Being, or to express it in words to a spiritual confidant and director. (k) These two laws, which by the authority of Innocent, were received as laws of God, and adopted, of consequence, as laws of the Church, occasioned a multitude of new injunctions and rites, of which not even the smallest traces are to be found in the sacred writings, or in the apostolic and primitive ages, and which were much more adapted to establish and extend the reign of superstition, than to open the eyes of the blinded multitude upon the enormous abuses of which it had been the source.

THERE is nothing that will contribute more to convince us of the miserable state of religion in this century, and of the frenzy that almost generally prevailed in the devotion of these unhappy times, than the rise of the sect called *Flagellantes*,

or

(i) See Edm. Albertinus, *De Eucharistia*, lib. iii. p. 972.

(k) See the book of the learned Daille, concerning *Auricular Confession*.

or *Whippers*, which sprung up in *Italy* in the year 1260, and was propagated from thence through almost all the countries of *Europe*. The societies, that embraced this new discipline, presented the most hideous and shocking spectacle, that can well be conceived; they ran in multitudes, composed of persons of both sexes, and of all ranks and ages, through the public places of the most populous cities, and also through the fields and deserts, with whips in their hands, lashing their naked bodies with the most astonishing severity, filling the air with their wild shrieks, and beholding the firmament with an air of distraction, ferocity, and horror; and all this with a view to obtain the divine mercy for themselves and others, by their voluntary mortification and penance. (1) This method of appeasing the deity was perfectly conformable to the notions concerning religion that generally prevailed in this century; nor did these fanatical *Whippers* do any thing more, in this extravagant discipline, than practise the lessons they had received from the Monks, especially from those of the Mendicant Orders. Hence they attracted the esteem and veneration not only of the populace, but also of their rulers, and were honoured and revered by all ranks and orders on account of their extraordinary sanctity and virtue. Their sect, however, did not
continue

(1) Christ. Schotgenii *Historia Flagellantium*.—Jaques Boileau *Histoire des Flagellans*, chap. ix. p. 253. We have also a lively picture of this fanatical discipline of the *Whippers*, exhibited in Martene's *Voyage Littéraire de deux Bénédictins*, tom. ii. p. 105. with which the reader may compare Muratorii *Antiq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. vi. p. 469.

continue always in the same high degree of credit and reputation; for though the primitive *Whippers* were exemplary in point of morals, yet their societies were augmented, as might naturally be expected, by a turbulent and furious rabble, many of whom were infected with the most ridiculous and impious opinions. Hence both the Emperors and Pontiffs thought proper to put an end to this religious frenzy, by declaring all devout *whipping* contrary to the divine law, and prejudicial to the soul's eternal interests.

It is absolutely necessary to observe here, that the moral writers of this and the following centuries must be read with the utmost caution; and with a perpetual attention to this circumstance, that, though they employ the same terms that we find in the sacred writings, yet they use them in a quite different sense from that which they bear in these divine books. They speak of justice, charity, faith, and holiness; but, as these virtues are illustrated by these quibbling Sophists, they differ much from the amiable and sublime duties, which Christ and his Disciples have inculcated under the same denominations. A single example will be sufficient to render this evident beyond contradiction. A *pious* and *holy* man, according to the sense annexed by our Saviour to these terms, is one, who consecrates his affections and actions to the service of the Supreme Being, and accounts it his highest honour and felicity, as well as his indispensable duty, to obey his laws. But, in the style of the moral writers of this age, he was a *pious* and *holy* man, who deprived himself of his possessions to enrich the

Priest-

Priesthood, to build Churches, and found Monasteries, and whose faith and obedience were so implicitly enslaved to the imperious dictates of the Roman Pontiffs, that he believed and acted without examination, as these lordly directors thought proper to prescribe. Nor were the ideas which these writers entertained concerning *justice*, at all conformable to the nature of that virtue, as it is described in the holy scriptures, since in their opinion it was lawful to injure, revile, torment, persecute, and even to put to death, a *Heretic*, i. e. any person who refused to obey blindly the decrees of the Pontiffs, or to believe all the absurdities, which they imposed upon the credulity of the multitude.

C H A P. IV.

*Concerning the Rites and Ceremonies used in the Church during
this Thirteenth Century.*

IT would be endless to enumerate the additions that were made in this century to the external part of divine worship, in order to increase its pomp and render it more striking. These additions were owing partly to the public edicts of the Roman Pontiffs, and partly to the private injunctions of the Sacerdotal and Monastic Orders, who shared the veneration, which was excited in the multitude by the splendor and magnificence of this religious spectacle. Instead of mentioning these additions we shall only observe in general, that religion was now become a sort of raree-show in the hands of the rulers of the Church, who, to render its impressions more deep and lasting, thought proper to exhibit it in a striking manner to the external senses. For this purpose, at certain stated times, and especially upon the more illustrious festivals, the miraculous dispensations of the divine wisdom in favour of the Church, and the more remarkable events in Christian history, were represented under certain allegorical figures and images, or rather in a kind of mimic shew. (m) But these scenic representations,

(m) It is probable enough, that this licentious custom of exhibiting mimic representations of religious objects derived its origin from the Mendicant Friars.

sentations, in which there was a motley mixture, of mirth and gravity, these tragic-comical spectacles, though they amused and affected in a certain manner the gazing populace, were highly detrimental, instead of being useful, to the cause of religion; they degraded its dignity, and furnished abundant matter of laughter to its enemies,

It will not appear surprizing that the bread, consecrated in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, became the object of religious worship; for this was the natural consequence of the monstrous doctrine of *transubstantiation*. But the effects of that impious and ridiculous doctrine did not end here; it produced all that train of ceremonies and institutions that are still used in the Church of *Rome* in honour of that *deified* bread, as they blasphemously call it. Hence those rich and splendid receptacles, that were formed for the residence of God under this new shape, (n) and the lamps and other precious ornaments that were designed to beautify this habitation of the Deity.

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And

(n) This blasphemous language, which Dr. Mosheim is obliged to use, in representing the absurdities of the doctrine of *Transubstantiation*, is nothing in comparison with the impious figures that were made use of by the abettors of that monstrous tenet to accommodate it, in some measure, to the capacities of the multitude. We need not wonder, that the Pagans metamorphosed their Jupiter into a *bull*, a *swan*, and other such figures, when we see the rulers of the Christian Church transforming the Son of God into a piece of bread; a transformation so vile, and, even were it not vile, so useless, that it is inconceivable how it could enter into the head of any mortal, and equally so, how the Bishops of *Rome* could confide so far in the credulity of the people as to risk their authority by propagating such a doctrine.

And hence the custom that still prevails, of carrying about this *divine bread* in solemn pomp through the public streets, when it is to be administered to sick or dying persons, with many other ceremonies of a like nature, which are dishonourable to religion, and opprobrious to humanity. But that which gave the finishing touch to this heap of absurdities, and displayed superstition in its highest extravagance, was the institution of the celebrated annual *Festival of the holy Sacrament*, or, as it is sometimes called, of the *body of Christ*, whose origin was as follows: A certain devout woman, whose name was Juliana, and who lived at *Liege*, declared that she had received a revelation from Heaven, intimating to her, that it was the will of God, that a peculiar festival should be annually observed in honour of the *Holy Sacrament*, or rather of the *real presence of Christ's body* in that sacred institution. Few gave attention or credit to this pretended vision, whose circumstances were extremely equivocal and absurd, (o) and which would have come to nothing, had it not been supported by Robert, Bishop of *Liege*, who, in the year 1246, published an order for the celebration of this festival throughout the whole Province, notwithstanding the opposition which he knew would be made to a proposal founded only on an idle dream. After
the

(o) This fanatical woman declared, that as often as she addressed herself to God, or to the Saints in prayer, she saw the full moon with a small defect or breach in it; and that having long studied to find out the signification of this strange appearance, she was inwardly informed by the spirit, that the *Moon* signified the *Church*, and that the defect or breach was the want of an annual festival in honour of the Holy Sacrament.

the death of Juliana, one of her friends and companions whose name was Eve, took up her cause with uncommon zeal, and had credit enough with Urban IV. to engage him to publish, in the year 1264, a solemn edict, by which the festival in question was imposed upon all the Christian Churches without exception. This edict, however, did not produce its full and proper effect, on account of the death of the Pontiff, which happened soon after its publication; so that the festival under consideration was not celebrated universally throughout the Latin Churches before the Pontificate of Clement V. (p) who, in the council, held at *Vienne in France*, in the year 1311, confirmed the edict of Urban, and thus, in spite of all opposition, established a festival, which contributed more to render the doctrine of transubstantiation agreeable to the people, than the decree of the council of the Lateran under Innocent III. or than all the exhortations of his lordly successors.

ABOUT the conclusion of this century, Boniface VIII. added to the public rites and ceremonies of the Church, the famous jubilee, which is still celebrated at *Rome*, at a stated period, with the utmost profusion of pomp and magnificence. In 1299, a rumour was spread abroad among the inhabitants of that city, that all such, as visited, within the limits of the following

(p) See Barthol. Fisen, *Origo prima Festi Corporis Christi ex Viso Sanctæ Julianæ*, published in 8vo. at *Liege*, in the year 1619.—Dallæus, *De cultis religiis objecto*, p. 287.—*Acta Sanctior. April.* tom. i. p. 437, 903.—And above all Benedict, *Pont. Max. de Festis Christi et Mariæ*, lib. i. c. xiii. p. 360. tom. x. opp.

ing year, the Church of *St. Peter*, should obtain the remission of all their sins, and, that this privilege was to be annexed to the performance of the same service, once every hundred years. Boniface no sooner heard of this, than he ordered strict enquiry to be made concerning the author and the foundation of this report, and the result of this enquiry was answerable to his views; for he was assured, by many testimonies worthy of credit (q) (see the Roman Catholic historians) that, from the remotest antiquity, this important privilege of remission and indulgence was to be obtained by the services above-mentioned. No sooner had the Pontiff received this information, than he issued out an epistolary mandate, addressed to all Christians, in which he enacted it as a solemn law of the Church, that, those, who every hundredth or Jubilee year confessed their sins, and visited, with sentiments of contrition and repentance,

the

(q) These *Testimonies worthy of credit* have never been produced by the Romish writers, unless we rank in that class, that of an old man, who had completed his 107th year, and who, being brought before Boniface VIII. declared, (if we may believe the Abbé Fleury) that his father, who was a common labourer, had assisted at the celebration of a jubilee, an hundred years before that time. See Fleury *Hist. Eccles.* towards the end of the twelfth century. It is, however, a very unaccountable thing, if the institution of the jubilee year was not the invention of Boniface, that there should be neither in the acts of councils, nor in the records of history, nor in the writings of the learned, any trace, or the least mention of its celebration before the year 1300; this, with other reasons of an irresistible evidence, have persuaded some Roman Catholic writers to consider the institution of the jubilee year, as the invention of this Pontiff, who, to render it more respectable, pretended that it was of a much earlier date. See Ghilini. & Vissorelli. apud Bonanni *Numism. Pontif. Rom.* tom. i. p. 22, 23.

the Churches of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul* at *Rome*, should obtain thereby the entire remission of their various offences. The successors of Boniface were not satisfied with adding a multitude of new rites and inventions, by way of ornaments, to this superstitious institution; but, finding by experience that it added to the lustre and augmented the revenues of the Roman Church, they rendered its return more frequent, and fixed its celebration to every five and twentieth year. (r)

(r) The various writers who have treated of the institution of the Roman jubilee, are enumerated by Jo. Albert Fabricius, in his *Bibliogr. Antiquar.* p. 316.

C H A P. V.

*Concerning the Divisions and Heresies that troubled the Church
during this Thirteenth Century.*

WE have no account of any new sects that arose among the Greeks during this century. Those of the Nestorians and Jacobites, which were settled in the remoter regions of the East, and who equalled the Greeks in their aversion to the rites and jurisdiction of the Latin Church, were frequently solicited, by the ministry of Franciscan and Dominican missionaries sent among them by the Popes, to receive the Roman yoke. In the year 1246 Innocent IV. used his utmost efforts to bring both these sects under his dominion; and in the year 1278 terms of accommodation were proposed by Nicolas IV. to the Nestorians, and particularly to that branch of the sect which resided in the Northern parts of *Asia*. The leading men both among the Nestorians and Jacobites seemed to give ear to the proposals that were made to them, and were by no means averse to a reconciliation with the Church of *Rome*; but the prospect of peace soon vanished, and a variety of causes concurred to prolong the rupture.

DURING the whole course of this century, the Roman Pontiffs carried on the most barbarous and inhuman persecution

tion against those whom they branded with the denomination of *heretics*, i. e. against all those who called their pretended authority and jurisdiction in question, or taught doctrines different from those which were adopted and propagated by the Church of *Rome*. For the sects of the *Catharists*, *Waldenses*, *Petrobrusians*, &c. gathered strength from day to day, spread imperceptibly throughout all *Europe*, assembled numerous congregations in *Italy*, *France*, *Spain*, and *Germany*, and formed by degrees such a powerful party as rendered them formidable to the Roman Pontiffs, and menaced the Papal jurisdiction with a fatal revolution. To the ancient sects new factions were added, which, though they differed from each other in various respects, yet were all unanimously agreed in this one point, viz. "That the public and established religion was a motley system of errors and superstition; and that the dominion which the Popes had usurped over Christians, as also the authority they exercised in religious matters, were unlawful and tyrannical." Such were the notions propagated by the sectaries, who refuted the superstitions and impostures of the times by arguments drawn from the holy scriptures, and whose declamations against the power, the opulence, and the vices of the Pontiffs and Clergy were extremely agreeable to many Princes and civil magistrates, who groaned under the usurpations of the Sacred Order. The Pontiffs therefore considered themselves as obliged to have recourse to new and extraordinary methods of defeating and subduing enemies, who both by their number and their rank were every way proper to fill them with terror.

THE number of these dissenters from the Church of *Rome* was no where greater than in *Narbonne Gaul*, (s) and the countries adjacent, where they were received and protected, in a singular manner, by Raymond VI. Earl of *Thoulouse*, and other persons of the highest distinction; and where the Bishops, either through humanity or indolence, were so negligent and remiss in the prosecution of heretics, that the latter, laying aside all their fears, formed settlements, and multiplied prodigiously from day to day. Innocent III. was soon informed of all these proceedings; and about the commencement of this century sent legates extraordinary into the Southern Provinces of *France* to do what the Bishops had left undone, and to extirpate heresy, in all its various forms and modifications, without being at all scrupulous in using such methods as might be necessary to effect this salutary purpose. The persons charged with this ghostly commission were Rainier, (t) a Cistercian Monk, Pierre De Castelnau, (u) Arch-deacon of *Maguelonne*, who became also afterwards a Cistercian Friar. These eminent missionaries were followed by several others, among whom was the famous Spaniard Dominic, founder of the

(s) That part of *France* which, in ancient times, comprehended the Provinces of *Savoy*, *Dauphiné*, *Provence*, and *Languedoc*.

(t) Instead of Rainier, other historians mention one Raoul, or Ralph, as the associate of Pierre De Castelnau. See Fleury, *Histoire Eccles.* livr. lxxvi. f. xii.

(u) The greatest part of the Roman writers consider Pierre De Castelnau as the first *inquisitor*. It will appear hereafter in what sense this assertion may be admitted. For an account of this legate, see the *Acta Sanctor.* tom. i. Martii. p. 411.

the Order of Preachers, who, returning from *Rome* in the year 1206, fell in with these delegates, embarked in their cause, and laboured both by his exhortations and actions in the extirpation of heresy. These spiritual champions, who engaged in this expedition upon the sole authority of the Pope, without either asking the advice or demanding the succours of the Bishops, and who inflicted capital punishment upon such of the heretics as they could not convert by reason and argument, were distinguished in common discourse by the title of *Inquisitors*, and from them the formidable and odious tribunal called the *Inquisition* derived its original.

WHEN this new set of heresy-hunters (w) had executed their commission, and purged the Provinces to which they were sent of the greatest part of the enemies of the Roman faith, the Pontiffs were so sensible of their excellent services, that they established missionaries of a like nature, or, in other words, placed *Inquisitors*, in almost every city whose inhabitants had the misfortune to be suspected of heresy, notwithstanding the reluctance which the people shewed to this new institution, and the violence with which they frequently expelled, and sometimes massacred these bloody officers of the Popish hierarchy.

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(w) The term of heresy-hunters, for which the translator is responsible, will not seem absurd, when it is known, that the missionaries, who were sent into the Provinces of *France* to extirpate heresy, and the inquisitors who succeeded them, were bound by an oath, not only to seek for the heretics in towns, houses, cellars, and other lurking places, but also in woods, caves, fields, &c.

chy. The council held at *Thoulouse*, in the year 1229, by Romanus, Cardinal of St. *Angelo*, and Pope's legate, went still farther, and erected in every city a *council of inquisitors consisting of one Priest and three Laymen*. (x) This institution was, however, superseded, in the year 1233, by Gregory IX. who entrusted the Dominicans, or Preaching Friars, with the important commission of discovering and bringing to judgment the heretics that were lurking in *France*, and in a formal epistle discharged the Bishops from the burthen of that painful office. (y) Immediately after this, the Bishop of *Tournay*, who was the Pope's legate in *France*, began to execute this new resolution, by appointing Pierre Cellan, and Guillaume Arnaud, *inquisitors of heretical pravity at Thoulouse*, and afterwards proceeded in every city, where the Dominicans had a Convent, to constitute officers of the same nature, chosen from among the Monks of that celebrated Order. (z) From this period we are to date the commencement of the dreadful tribunal of the *inquisition*, which in this and the following ages subdued such a prodigious multitude of heretics, part of whom were converted to the Church by terror, and the rest committed to the flames without mercy. For the Dominicans erected, first at *Thoulouse*, and afterwards at *Carcaffone* and other places, a tremendous court, before which were
summoned

(x) See Harduini Concilia, tom. vii. p. 175.

(y) Bernard. Guidonis in *Chronico Pontif.* MS. ap. Jac. Echardum *Scriptor. Prædicator.* tom. i. p. 88.—Percini *Historia Inquisit. Tolosanæ*, subjoined to his *Historia Conventus XX. Prædicat. Tolosæ* 1693, in 8vo.—*Histoire Generale de Languedoc*, tom. iii. p. 394, 395.

(z) Echard & Percinus *loc. citat.*

summoned not only *heretics*, and persons *suspected of heresy*, but likewise all who were accused of *magic*, *sorcery*, *judaism*, *witchcraft* and other crimes of that kind. This tribunal, in process of time, was erected in the other countries of *Europe*, though not every where with the same success.

THE method of proceeding in this court of inquisition was at first simple, and almost in every respect similar to that which was observed in the ordinary courts of justice. (a) But this simplicity was gradually changed by the Dominicans, to whom experience suggested several new methods of augmenting the pomp and majesty of their spiritual tribunal, and who made such alterations in the forms of proceedings, that the manner of taking cognizance of *heretical* causes became totally different from that which was usual in civil affairs. These Friars were, to say the truth, entirely ignorant of judicial matters; nor were they acquainted with the procedures of any other tribunal, than that which was called, in the Roman Church, the *tribunal of penance*. It was therefore after this, that they modelled the new court of *Inquisition*, as far as a resemblance between the two was possible; and hence arose that strange system of *inquisitorial* law, which in many respects, is so contrary to the common feelings of humanity, and the plainest dictates of equity and justice. This is the important circumstance by which we are enabled to account for the absurd, imprudent,

(a) The records, published by the Benedictines in their *Histoire Gener. de Languedoc*, tom. iii. p. 371, shew the simplicity that reigned in the proceedings of the inquisition at its first institution.

imprudent, and iniquitous proceedings of the inquisitors against persons that are accused of holding, what they call, heretical opinions.

THAT nothing might be wanting to render this spiritual court formidable and tremendous, the Roman Pontiffs persuaded the European Princes, and more especially the Emperor Frederic II. and Lewis IX. King of *France*, not only to enact the most barbarous laws against *heretics*, and to commit to the flames, by the ministry of public justice, those who were pronounced *such* by the *inquisitors*, but also to maintain the inquisitors in their office, and grant them their protection in the most open and solemn manner. The edicts to this purpose issued out by Frederic II. are well known; edicts every way proper to excite horror, and which rendered the most illustrious piety and virtue incapable of saving from the cruellest death such as had the misfortune to be disagreeable to the *inquisitors*. (b) These abominable laws were not, however, sufficient

(b) The law of the Emperor Frederick, in relation to the inquisitors, may be seen in Limborch's *History of the Inquisition*, as also in the *Epistles* of Pierre de Vignes, and in Bzovius Raynaldus, &c. The edict of *St. Lewis*, in favour of these ghostly judges, is generally known under the title of *Cupientes*; for so it is called by the French Lawyers on account of its beginning with that word. It was issued out in the year 1229, as the Benedictine Monks have proved sufficiently in their *Hist. Generale de Languedoc*, tom. iii. p. 378, 575. It is also published by Catehlius, in his *Histor. Comit. Tolosanor.* p. 340, and in many other authors. This edict is as severe and inhuman, to the full, as the laws of Frederick II. For a great part of the *sanctity* of good King

sufficient to restrain the just indignation of the people against these inhuman judges, whose barbarity was accompanied with superstition and arrogance, with a spirit of suspicion and perfidy, nay, even with temerity and imprudence. Accordingly they were driven, in an ignominious manner, out of some cities, and were put to death in others; and Conrad of *Marpurg*, the first German inquisitor, who derived his commission from Gregory IX. was one of the many victims that were sacrificed upon this occasion to the vengeance of the public (c), which his incredible barbarities had raised to a dreadful degree of vehemence and fury. (d)

WHEN Innocent III. perceived that the labours of the first *inquisition* were not immediately attended with abundant fruits as he had fondly expected, he addressed himself, in the
year

King Lewis consisted in his furious and implacable aversion to *heretics*, against whom he judged it more expedient to employ the influence of racks and gibbets, than the power of reason and argument. See Du Fresne, *Vita Ludovici a Joinvillio Scripta*, p. 11 39.

(c) The life of this furious and celebrated inquisitor has been composed from the most authentic records that are extant, and also from several valuable manuscripts by the learned John Herman Schminckius. See also Wadding. *Annal. Minor.* tom. ii. p. 151, 355, and Echard. *Scriptor. Dominican*, tom. i. p. 487.

(d) The Abbe Fleury acknowledges the brutal barbarity of this unrelenting inquisition, who, under the pretext of heresy, not only committed to the flames a prodigious number of Nobles, Clerks, Monks, Hermits, and Lay-persons of all ranks, but moreover caused them to be put to death, the very same day they were accused, without appeal. See Fleury's *Hist. Eccles.* livr. lxxx. f. xxiv.

year 1207, to Philip Augustus King of *France*, and to the leading men of that nation, soliciting them by the alluring promise of the most ample *indulgences*, to extirpate all, whom he thought proper to call, *heretics*, by fire and sword. (e) This exhortation was repeated with new accessions of fervor and earnestness the year following, when Pierre de Castelnau, the legate of this Pontiff, and his inquisitor in *France*, was put to death by the patrons of the people, called *heretics*. (f) Not long after this, the Cistercian Monks, in the name of this Pope, proclaimed a crusade against the heretics throughout the whole kingdom of *France*, and a storm seemed to be gathering against them on all sides: Raymond VI. Earl of *Thoulouse*, in whose territories Castelnau had been massacred, was solemnly excommunicated, and, to deliver himself from this ecclesiastical malediction, changed sides, and embarked in the crusade now mentioned. In the year 1209, a formidable army of cross-bearers commenced against the heretics, who were comprehended under the general denomination of *Albigenses*, an open war, which they carried on with the utmost exertions of cruelty, though with various success, for several years. The chief director of this ghostly war was Arnald Abbot of the Cistercians, and Legate of the Roman Pontiff; and the Commander in Chief of the troops employed in this noble expedition was Simon Earl of *Montfort*. Raymond VI. Earl of *Thoulouse*, who, consulting his safety rather than his

(e) Innocentii III. *Epistolæ*, lib. x. *Epist.* 49.

(f) Id. *ibid.* Lib. xi. Ep. 26, 27, 28, 29,—*Acta Sanctor. Mart.* tom. i. p. 411.

his conscience, had engaged in the crusade against the heretics, was obliged to change sides, and to attack their persecutors. For Simon, who had embarked in this war not so much from a principle of zeal for religion, or of aversion to the heretics, as from a desire of augmenting his fortune, cast a greedy eye upon the territories of Raymond, and his selfish views were seconded and accomplished by the Court of *Rome*. After many battles, sieges, and a multitude of other exploits, conducted with the most intrepid courage and the most abominable barbarity, he received from the hands of Innocent III. at the council of the Lateran, A. D. 1215, the country of *Thoulouse* and the other lands belonging to that Earl, as a reward for his zeal in supporting the *cause of God* and of *the Church*. About three years after this, he lost his life at the siege of *Thoulouse*. Raymond, his valiant adversary, died in the year 1222.

THUS were the two chiefs of this deplorable war taken off the scene, but this removal was far from extinguishing the infernal flame of persecution on the side of the Pontiffs, or calming the restless spirit of faction on that of the pretended heretics. Raymond VII. Earl of *Thoulouse*, and Amalric, Earl of *Montfort*, succeeded their fathers at the head of the contending parties, and carried on the war with the utmost vehemence, and with such various success as rendered the issue for some time doubtful. The former seemed at first more powerful than his adversary, and the Roman Pontiff Honorius III. alarmed at the vigorous opposition he made to the orthodox legions, engaged Lewis VIII. King of *France*, by the most

pompous promises, to march in person with a formidable army against the enemies of the Church. The obsequious monarch listened to the solicitations of the lordly Pontiff, and embarked with a considerable military force in the cause of the Church, but did not live to reap the fruits of his zeal. His engagements, however, with the court of *Rome*, and his furious designs against the heretics, were executed with the greatest alacrity and vigour by his son and successor Lewis the *Saint*; so that Raymond, pressed on all sides, was obliged, in the year 1229, to make peace upon the most disadvantageous terms, even by making a cession of the greatest part of his territories to the French Monarch, after having sacrificed a portion of them, as a peace-offering to the Church of *Rome*. This treaty of peace gave a mortal blow to the cause of heresy, and dispersed the champions that had appeared in its defence; the *inquisition* was established at *Thoulouse*, and the heretics were not only exposed to the pious cruelties of Lewis, but, what was still more shocking, Raymond himself, who had formerly been their patron, became their persecutor, and treated them upon all occasions, with the most inhuman severity. It is true, this Prince broke the engagements into which he had entered by the treaty above-mentioned, and renewed the war against Lewis and the inquisitors, who abused their victory and the power they had acquired in the most odious manner. But this new effort, in favour of the heretics, was attended with little or no effect; and the unfortunate Earl of *Thoulouse*, the last representative of that noble and powerful house, dejected and exhausted by the losses he had sustained, and the perplexities in which he was involved, died,

died, in the year 1249, without male issue. And thus ended a civil war, of which religion had been partly the cause, and partly the pretext, and which, in its consequences, was highly profitable both to the Kings of *France* and to the Roman Pontiffs. (g)

THE severity which the court of *Rome* employed in the extirpation of heresy, and the formidable arguments of fire and sword, racks and gibbets, with which the Popes and their creatures reasoned against the enemies of the Church, were not sufficient to prevent the rise of new and most pernicious sects in several places. Many of these sects were inconsiderable in themselves, and transitory in their duration, which some of them made a noise in the world, and were suppressed with difficulty.

(g) The most ample and accurate account of this expedition against the Heretics is that which is given by the learned Benedictines Claude Le Vie and Joseph Vaissette, in their *Histoire Generale de Languedoc*, Paris 1730, tom. iii. in which, however, there are several omissions, which render that valuable work defective.



